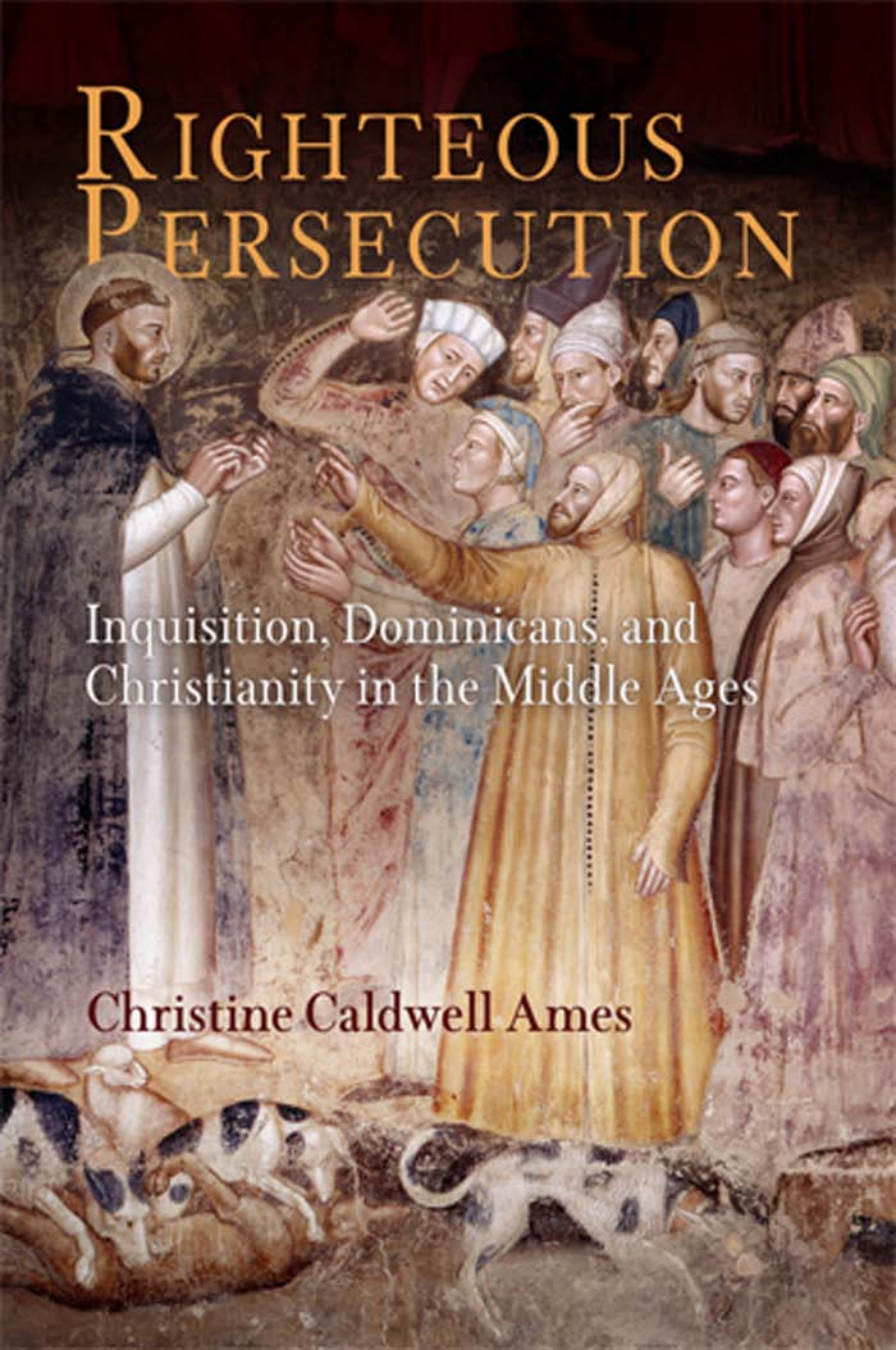


RIGHTEOUS PERSECUTION



Inquisition, Dominicans, and
Christianity in the Middle Ages

Christine Caldwell Ames

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*Inquisition, Dominicans,
and Christianity in the
Middle Ages*

Christine Caldwell Ames

PENN

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For
my parents, Richard and Paula Caldwell
and for
Alexander Vaughan Ames

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Introduction

CHRIST CAME TO persecute. That is, according to the Dominican friar and inquisitor Moneta of Cremona (d.1250), Christ indeed came to earth not to bring peace, but rather a sword. And to Moneta and fellow later medieval churchmen, this admonition—or, perhaps, promise—to the twelve disciples, recounted in the book of Matthew, had come powerfully to pass. Christ's model of just persecution, the wielding of a righteous sword, was for Moneta and many colleagues neither simply theoretical (an arid affair for biblical exegesis, bounded by university walls) nor historical (limited to the antique world; bounded by the past).¹ It was, rather, as horribly perdurant as the interpenetration of sin and human experience. As Moneta's contemporary inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon wrote, "Christ the persecutor" ever struck in righteous judgment.² God, eternal, had nearly eternal enemies; until the final judgment, there were those who could turn away from him, could seek to sabotage the manifest of his truth, and his community of truth, on earth. The near-unending of this error meant the unending of its punishment, a holy chastening both here below and beyond, both in our time and forever.³

And to Moneta of Cremona and his fellows, the persistence of evil's battle against God was proven by the existence of heresy in the Christian West. As many medieval historians have observed, after late antiquity "heresy" was largely nonexistent in western Christendom until a few anomalous incidents in eleventh-century France. Religious movements deemed heretical by the Roman church—often explicitly reformist, concerned about the church's involvement in a money economy, and challenging the very content of

Christianity, lay access to sources of authority, and discernment—then apparently exploded in the 1100s, prompting new vigor in the church's pastoral and disciplinary work among the faithful. Scholars of heresy have long debated the origins and causes of this putative reappearance of religious dissent in western Europe, such as increased literacy and urbanization, or whether it was a "reappearance" at all, rather than simply new identifications made for purposes of power, a nostalgic epistemology, or an ironic result of the laity's insistence on *status quo* in the wake of the Gregorian Reform's changes.⁴

Yet what is indubitable is the Roman church's cultivation of novel methods of discovering, investigating, and countering beliefs, sympathies, or actions in the baptized Christian that were defined as heretical. *Inquisitio* ("investigation," "inquiry") was a method with origins in Roman civil law that displaced the earlier *accusatio* means of prosecution, in which the wronged party was responsible for accusing the malefactor and for demanding justice. *Inquisitio* instead placed an overseeing authority in the position of both investigating and judging the guilt of the suspected criminal, with the person's *fama*, or reputation, acting as accuser.⁵ In an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, or heresy inquisition, *mala fama* allowed clerics (whether local bishop or commissioned papal legate) to conduct an *inquisitio*, questioning suspects and others on the former's heretical associations, beliefs, or behavior. The formal and ideological backbone of this new strategy against heresy was a series of papal pronouncements beginning with Lucius III's *Ad abolendam* in 1184; its particular architect was Innocent III.⁶ Its ecclesiastical evolution would also owe generally to various conciliar statutes, to the new sophistication of canon law, and to contemporary means of determining and assessing knowledge. Although its ecclesiastical origins lay in the twelfth century, *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* was used with vigor and some regularity only from about 1230. A few factors cooperated, such as the end of the Albigensian Crusade in Languedoc in 1229 and the papacy of Gregory IX (1227–1241), a zealous proponent of *inquisitiones*, who shifted the burden onto papal legates deputed especially in southern and northern France, northern Italy, and Aragon. Subsequent developments of inquisitorial practice built *inquisitio* into a reckonable weapon against supposed heretics, although its efficacy depended upon a secular assistance that was not always forthcoming. As a method, *inquisitio* was not restricted to ecclesiastical matters generally or heresy specifically. But its application to heresy differed powerfully from its use in more banal crimes, as ultimately in a heresy inquisition God himself was offered as both injured party and judge.

When, then, Moneta of Cremona wrote in the mid-thirteenth century that God became incarnate on earth in Christ as a vehicle of violence and persecution, a zealous punisher of wrongdoers, he could understand this as a synecdoche of contemporary policies adopted by the Roman church toward heresy. For Moneta, Christ's righteous sword was especially operable in the present by striking the rejectors of God's truth—the heretical beliefs and sects he perceived to be endemic in the high Middle Ages—via their investigation, arrest, interrogation, torture, corporal and other forms of punishment, and the delivery of the recalcitrant or recidivist to secular authorities for execution by burning. Christ's gospel promise to bring a sword, in other words, was fulfilled by inquisition.

The Spiritual Geography of Medieval Inquisitions

This book explores the process by which churchmen in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century western Europe understood, and presented, Christ as persecutor: that is, how they conceived of heresy inquisitions as a pious vehicle of that righteous persecution, the salutary chastening of those who had turned away from God. Focusing on inquisitors and their supporters from the Dominican order, it seeks specifically to trace how they gave Christian substance to this office that both arose from, and in turn influenced, a peculiar spiritual geography that permitted—or even demanded—the persecution of supposed apostates from God. Its interest, then, is in how inquisitorial mentalities of violent persecution evolved; in the process by which explicitly Christian meanings were found both for the office of *inquisitio* and within it. *Inquisitio* may have arisen from traditions in ancient Roman law, but those who applied this method to heresy also, and more important, located its origins in the texts and traditions of Christianity itself, an extant discourse of sin, apostasy, community, and punishment that surrounded and helped to midwife *inquisitio*'s birth in the twelfth century. Medieval Christianity, of course, is not reducible to an institutional church. It was an expansive and dynamic organism, comprising a body of doctrine distilled in the *Credo*, but also a web of authoritative texts and their diverse interpretations; developed traditions; the complex relationship of clergy and laity; the vast breadth of lived experience from birth to death and beyond; the community as “body of Christ”; a cosmography of worldly and otherworldly space; Christian time in a plan of salvation.

Notwithstanding the legal and intellectual traditions contributing to heresy inquisitions, and the real engagement of “politics” in their deployment and practice, the thought-worlds of inquisitors themselves demonstrate that inquisitions also arose from this organism, and were in turn reattached to it. The inquisitorial mentalities this book investigates were a manifestation of Christian belief.

However, this book also seeks to delineate the dynamic and fragile character of those thought-worlds by asking how, and why, these explicitly Christian meanings evolved among inquisitors and supportive colleagues. For this was not a sterile, pure theology of heresy, occupying a rarified academic ether, but instead a supple worldview—a set of beliefs about how God interrelated with humans—sketched by clerics who encountered on the ground real persons liable to inquisition’s equally real repression. That practicality is crucial in two ways. Most simply, to define execution as biblical mandate in a *summa* differs from identifying it as such while submitting a fellow human being to death by burning. More important, these Christian meanings were at the same time both responsive to, and often challenged by, the laity among whom inquisitors worked. The development of this inquisitorial mentality was a heated conversation, not a monologue. We consistently see various kinds of contestation to inquisitions from laypeople and (much more rarely) other clerics—resistance ranging from silence and objections in interrogations, to complaints of injustice and malversation, to formal appeals to kings and popes, to urban riots, to the killing of inquisitors and attacks on their home communities.⁷ The Christian meanings granted to inquisition by its practitioners and supporters responded in part to the public reception of the office generally and aspects of its practice particularly. Like Moneta of Cremona’s identification of Christ as righteous persecutor, many of these articulations defended against charges that heresy inquisitions proved the Roman church to be “unchristian,” a destroyer of its gospel legacy, or even the real enemy of Christ.

Yet while these meanings were fashioned (*fictus*), they were not necessarily fictional to those clerics doing the fashioning. Although often strategic, they were not propaganda if that implies their promoters’ canny wish to persuade laypeople of that which they did not themselves believe. We should not imagine an “either-or” in which an argument’s sincerity is evacuated because it sought usefully to persuade laypeople of inquisition’s justice and piety. As we will see below, Dominican inquisitors and supporters arduously appealed to the core cosmography, beliefs, and texts of Roman Christianity in arguing,

in the wake and anticipation of contestation, that even their most controversial activities proved that the Roman church was God's true faith and community, and the pope truly Christ's vicar. At the same time, inquisitorial mentalities, born from particular historical circumstances, edited texts and traditions as necessary and grafted new conceptions of guilt and correction onto their venerable skin. Persecution was both old and new, both inherited and transformed by inquisition, reconciled wholly with Christianity as a new application of divine judgment in earthly time and beyond it. To doubt that inquisitors believed in God's power, eternity, and sure punishment for sin is to doubt that they were medieval Christians.⁸ Moreover, the development of inquisitorial mentalities amid contestation was, in a sense, a productive disputation: another kind of dialectic that whittled down what Christians should believe about this new persecution. Inquisition, then, fascinatingly shows us not two radically polarized blocks—laity bound to a dynamic natural faith and inquisitors bound statically to protect the earthly institution of the church—but instead the complexity and vulnerability of common sources of authority and their interpretation. If medieval dissent itself was a conversation about the character and content of the Christian faith, and one that tells us something about belief and church in the high Middle Ages, so was *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*.

Doctors of Souls

Why focus on Dominicans for this study of the Christian meanings that heresy inquisitors ascribed to their work? Most friars of the Order of Preachers were not inquisitors, instead focusing on the traditional duties of preaching, teaching, and pastoral care. (There is, however, much evidence for the leadership's approval, and scant indication of disapproval from other friars, for whom there were various avenues for ancillary participation or simple contact.⁹) In addition, Dominicans were not the only heresy inquisitors in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Inquisition was originally an episcopal duty, and throughout this period bishops could still conduct the *inquisitiones* in their dioceses that Lucius III had urged them to do in 1184 with *Ad abolendam*. Before the Albigensian Crusade, Cistercians were the most common papal legates preaching and working against heresy in Languedoc; long after it, brothers from other religious orders served as papally appointed inquisitors.¹⁰ Well

before the Dominican order was formally established in 1216, there were predecessors for the images of heresy, punishment, and justice presented below. Dominican inquisitors and their supportive colleagues did not invent Christian worldviews of inquisition wholesale or uniquely; rather, their significance (and evidence for sincerity) comes precisely from the inheritance and manipulation of extant texts, traditions, and ideologies. Likewise, inquisitorial contemporaries in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries who were not friars may or may not have shared the Christian thought-worlds of inquisition that we will sketch below among Dominicans. This book must leave to other scholars to survey the religious mentalities of bishops and inquisitors from other orders, and to determine their peculiarities or likenesses.¹¹

However, there are two reasons why this study focuses on the Christian meanings for inquisition articulated and enacted by Dominicans. First, they were most prominent as inquisitorial personnel in this period, receiving express papal commissions to assume responsibility for inquisitions throughout western Europe. In 1231, Gregory IX first commissioned Dominicans as inquisitors in Regensburg with *Ille humani generis*, reissued in 1233 to the brothers in the province of Provence. Subsequent commissions followed in various parts of Europe.¹² Relatedly, they were the primary authors and circulators of anti-heretical and inquisitorial literature. Second, and more important, are the dual roles of fighting heresy and “saving souls” in the order’s origins and inspiring genius. As is well known, the mendicant Order of Preachers was founded in Languedoc by Dominic Guzmán and his bishop Diego of Osma with the twin goals of combatting heresy and strengthening orthodoxy through an apostolic life of preaching, teaching, and pastoral care. Four years after Honorius III’s formal confirmation in 1216, the order stated succinctly its sense of a unique evangelical foundation and purpose: “our order was especially founded from the beginning for preaching and salvation of souls.” This evangelical charge most boldly establishes the Christian potentialities of heresy inquisitions. While bishops and members of other orders had obvious pastoral and protective intentions in inquisitions, only Dominicans fulfilled through this work an explicit foundational command to “walk about, and seek those who go astray.” On the other hand, friars preoccupied with the dominant interests of the order—preaching, confessions, even mission—did not return those strays with tools identical to those wielded by their inquisitor brothers.¹³ If we imagine *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* as one circle and the Order of Preachers as another, it is precisely the mandorla created by their overlap that is of interest here. Its

curious marriage of apostolate and repressing heresy—a dual “saving souls” peculiar to Dominican origins, history, identity, and practice—most powerfully discloses a sincerely persecuting Christianity.¹⁴

This book, then, argues that Dominican inquisitors saw their work as the fulfillment and not the betrayal of Dominic’s seminal vision.¹⁵ This is so particularly because of inquisition’s interrelationship with contemporary church reform, notably the fears, ambitions, and cosmography expressed by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. As we will examine further in Chapter 4, Dominic’s attendance at the council, its attempted reforms of pastoral care, discussion of *inquisitio*, and condemnation of heresies were tightly bound; pastorate and inquisition were not two separate sides of the same protective coin. The nexus of inquisition’s Christian meanings among Dominican inquisitors was its character as the spiritual discipline of the errant. This was not simply “saving souls” tempted by heresy, a distinct complement to fellow friars’ encouragements toward orthodoxy. In addition to its origin amid other forms of persecution, this application of *inquisitio* also significantly and relatedly arose within the context of the efficacy of Gregorian Reform, with its ambitious conceptions of papal monarchy, authority, and community that continued to Innocent III; questions over the role and autonomy of laity in church and faith; and evolving thinking on the pastoral care of the individual baptized Christian. All of the above, and especially this moment of powerful, elevated articulations of Christian community as universal, transcendent *ecclesia*, informed the theory and practice of heresy inquisitions. As Dominique Iogna-Prat has argued, the spiritual geography newly and aggressively proffered by the Roman church in the high Middle Ages was one of expansive community: “the Gregorian ‘mountain’ [was] intended to fill the universe.”¹⁶ This ideology of community was significantly linked with an ideology of individual belonging; specifically, scholars of the Christian laity in this period have argued for its increasing “monasticization,” or an ambitious extension of monastic discipline to all Christians. While, then, Gregorian Reform sharpened the differences between clergy and laity in order and hierarchy, its vision of the universal community of the church—Christendom as monastery—flowered into the congruous transformation of the baptized into its obedient members, a transformation that was, like the idea of transcendent community itself, vocalized and pursued by Innocent III and Fourth Lateran.¹⁷

While the novel office of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* could readily be understood by its practitioners as an heir to past methods of spiritual

governance—God always chastised humans—it could also be defined as part of this effort. Heresy inquisitions likewise sought to extend a monastic model to the laity: investigation of the soul, vigilance about others, chastening of the body, cultivation of the will to obedience, and awareness of a surpassing, universal, timeless community with God at its head. In this case, the targets were those reputedly tempted by the apostasy of heresy, the belief in the ability to secede from the transcendent *ecclesia* proposed by the Roman church. Dominicans, then, dominated heresy inquisitions not because of their prominence in theology—which supposedly prepared them best to identify and to oppugn theological error—but rather because of their foundational pastoral and apostolic vocation.¹⁸ To Dominican inquisitors, inquisition was its aggrandizement and not its corruption, as they sought to assist in the Roman church's monasticization of the world. Friars who had originally, together with the Franciscans, abandoned the cloister for the world would be an important tool in transforming the world into a cloister. This effort to extend monastic discipline was, like all aspects of heresy inquisitions, contested and not necessarily successful. But its informing genius discloses a persecution that was not merely interested in the body but penetrated further into the soul, and a persecution that proposed, as it sought to enforce, the inevitability of belonging.

Because of inquisition's role in extending a monastic discipline to the laity, both articulating and seeking to impose that universal community in practice, the matter of whose souls were to be investigated is more complicated than it may initially seem. (The use of "heretic" below implies only that categorization by Roman clerics.) As Lucius III wrote in *Ad abolendam* in 1184, heretics were those who "do not fear to think and teach other than what the holy Roman church preaches and observes." Over a century later, the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui, in his exhaustive *Practica inquisitionis hereticarum pravitatis* (c.1323), sketched the "sects" he believed colleagues were liable to confront. These were "the Manichees of modern times" (the "good men" or "Cathars"); Waldenses; "Pseudo-Apostles" (the Apostolic Brethren led first by Gerard Segarelli and then by Dolcino); and "Beguins," or lay followers of the Spiritual Franciscans.¹⁹ We should trouble this tidy list. Recently some scholars have challenged the congruity between medieval ecclesiastics' depictions of "heresy" and distinct heresies, and the reality of faith and practice among persons in the Middle Ages. To what degree, and in what form, did "heresy" exist independent of inquisitors' schematic or fantastical constructions of it through tracts and interrogations? The cohesive categories of "heresy" con-

structed by ecclesiastical history, earlier discourse, and thence inquisitorial literature could be imposed upon an individual's testimony in an interrogation, or could redefine behavior. New dissent could be transmuted into old "heresy."²⁰ However, consulting trial transcripts, rather than antiheretical literature, propels us a bit lower to the ground.²¹ As John Arnold has well observed, these illustrate that even as conversations became more expansive and detailed, inquisitors' attention was insistently directed toward persons who were "guilty" of mild acts like financially supporting a relative or providing shelter, or of believing that heretics were pious and their beliefs to be the "true Christian faith" in which they sought to live. Those "favorers," "receivers," and "supporters" were joined by those who supposedly "impeded" inquisition in various ways (including accusing falsely).²² And in transcripts even persons clearly committed to "heresy" are generally not placed within elaborate fantasies like those later attached to witchcraft.²³ Moreover, the "heresy" bruited in inquisitorial interrogations often reflected inquisition's core problem of discernment by debating who was genuinely "orthodox": in the general sense of possessing and disseminating God's truth, but also in the more specifically Roman-Christian sense of the true "pope," true "saints," and so on. If we propose that persistent imaginative fantasy was a rationalizing cornerstone of inquisitorial persecution, in which inquisitors matched testimony to discourse in Procrustean fashion for reasons of power, we must ask why the guilt investigated and punished was so often slight and banal, rather than being regularly alchemized by inquisitors into serious heresy.

It was because the less committed were precisely the point.²⁴ This approach, in which a wide scope of various "apostasies" won inquisitorial attention, offered its own ominous opportunity to heighten ecclesiastical claims about transcendent jurisdiction and power. It was the fact that "heretical guilt" could be so banal, could encompass so small an action within so wide a range of supposed revolts against God, that shows us inquisitors' truly ambitious conceptions of discipline and community. In this context, success (correcting and reintegrating all instances of spiritual disobedience, however mild and well-intentioned; offering inquisition as the salutary means to accomplish this) rather than failure (falsely identifying serious heretics who could then be excluded or executed) buttressed and increased an ecclesiastical power that made transcendent and universalizing claims. The story of inquisitorial ambitions vis-à-vis "heresy" is the force of claiming the church's total jurisdiction over the subtlest details of the engagement between human and

divine, and especially their management as varying shades of sin. It is the significance for the Roman church, and for medieval Christianity, of offering inquisition as its reintegrating cure while claiming wide and detailed authority over the individual soul.

Dominican inquisitors' conceptions of "saving souls," and their embedment within a particular articulation of universal *ecclesia*, governs the book's chronological boundaries from the first commissions in 1231 to the death of Bernard Gui in 1331, coeval with the effective end of medieval inquisitions. Despite the continuity of appointed inquisitors in western Europe, serious conceptual and practical shifts took place. We notice a transformative hardening in the fourteenth century, such as the expansion of inquisitorial attention to unconverted Jews visible in Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis* (c.1323). Although Dominican friars were prominent in attacks on the Talmud in the thirteenth century, the *Practica* was the first inquisitorial manual to discuss at length various penalties for unconverted Jews, because of either supposed blasphemies against Christianity or enticements of converts to return to Judaism.²⁵ And in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, heretics ceded to witches as the dominant interest of ecclesiastics. The apparent disintegration of unified ecclesiastical community and perceived demands for internal reform generated deep concern over the satanic sabotage and conspiracy now identified with witchcraft.²⁶ Conversely, there appears to have been a genuine weakening of forms of dissent; the last burning of a supposed Cathar in Languedoc took place in 1330. And secular authority assumed greater control over the prosecution of various kinds of perceived deviants.²⁷ These shifts denote an alteration in the promoted quality of inquisition as salutary spiritual discipline and consequently in the particular Christian meanings imputed to it. While early modern pursuers of heresy and witchcraft did not cease assigning religious meanings to their work, the period that nearly parallels the first century of both heresy inquisitions and the Dominican order offers a spectacle, in a way later inquisitors do not, of that sincerely persecuting Christianity.²⁸

Inquisition as Religious Persecution

In 1987, R. I. Moore's *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* famously asked why the persecution of heretics, Jews, and others increased dramatically in the high Middle Ages. Moore posited that a clerical, bureaucratic elite, newly

prominent in institutions of increasingly centralized government, sought mechanisms to protect and to enhance its power and authority, in conjunction with growing concerns over social control. In locating the causes for persecution's origins in the persecutors rather than in the persecuted, Moore both explicitly reversed previous conclusions about responsibility and provocatively challenged the assumption of persecution's normalcy and naturalness, which had itself supplanted in historiography a liberal progressivism that had jettisoned medieval "barbarism" as a relic of past backwardness. Moore observed dolefully "That it was in some way natural or appropriate, or at any rate inevitable, that the medieval church should seek to suppress religious dissent by force, has come to be accepted as a matter of course."²⁹ To Moore, the conclusion that at a particular moment, medieval institutions began persecuting heretics, Jews, lepers and others—elided into a single imagined class of the marginalized—for the common end of political and social power might be as depressing as the easy belief that persecution was a natural human response to difference, but it was both more honest and less historically obfuscating.

It is an ironic sign of the explosive success of Moore's thesis that assumptions of persecution's naturalness and normalcy, which Moore sought to eject from the front door, often slip in through the back. The "persecuting society" is so historiographically ingrained that it might now appear as brutally obvious that ecclesiastical institutions repress, and moreover repress from the social fear and protective jealousy identified by Moore. Persecution by the medieval church is again "natural" and "inevitable" (if distinctly not "appropriate"), not in the sense that we need not fix its origins and causes, or how it created difference, but in that we presume that persecution is what institutions do.³⁰ This normalization of Moore's thesis has been accompanied and encouraged by other historiographical factors: Michel Foucault's critiques of institutions and power; a common association of genuine Christianity with tolerance; and the influence in medieval historiography of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, which has ostensibly driven scholars' identification of doubt, anxiety, concerns over purity, fear, or paranoia as motives for religious persecution.³¹ Scholarship on inquisition after Moore has tended to follow the above tracks by analyzing inquisition as a vehicle of political and social discipline, or by placing it within a stable teleology and genealogy of state power, identifying it as parallel to, and precursor of, modern forms of repression.³² Or it has perceived a chronological or moral tipping point after which persecutory activities can no longer be grounded in Christian belief.³³ Despite

various levels of acknowledgment of inquisitors' religious status, these works have not been chiefly interested in their Christian mentalities or in inquisition's illuminating force for medieval Christianity.³⁴

This disinterest may be in part because of Moore's conclusion that clerical bureaucrats persecuted from social, cultural, and political jealousy, or his intimation that appeals to faith ahistorically implied the necessity and normality of persecution, which his interest in historicizing origins specifically resisted.³⁵ Moore needed to distance religion in order to explain the formation of the persecuting society, as previous scholarship simply did not accommodate the contextualization of origins together with religious belief. Yet we have lost something in this "dark, persecutory vision" and in its emphasis on social and political power. Persecution's ironic normalization as a historiographical frame means that religious belief might return more explicitly, adding another dimension to the evolution Moore observed. For we see in the high Middle Ages clerics' choice not simply to persecute heretics, but also to evoke and to interpret particular Christian texts and traditions as mandating that persecution as sincere piety, demonstrating the evolution of medieval Christianity itself. The medieval church's recourse to repression by force was indeed neither "natural" or "inevitable." But there was, nevertheless, material of the Christian faith that churchmen could seize, interpret, and offer as religious foundations for persecution, even as other texts and traditions—or alternative interpretations of the same material—argued against violent persecution. And new mechanisms and circumstances could be enfolded into that faith. Appeals to inquisitors' Christian mentalities need not imply historical stability; a sincere, but adaptable, religious conviction was reconceptualized, for historically definite reasons, permitting and even celebrating persecution. But why reconstruct the process by which churchmen built Christian foundations for inquisition, especially when it risks the appearance of rationalizing inquisitors' very real persecution, and of presenting contexts and motives that some might perceive as uniquely authenticating and justifying?

First, by approaching heresy inquisitions as a strictly earthly political and social institution, and with modern discipline and repression in our teleological sights, we cannot fully understand them on their own terms. "Discipline," "society," and "power" did not mean the same things to medieval Christians as they did, say, to the modern architects of punishment of whom Foucault wrote. The "power" about which Dominican inquisitors speak below was identical neither to a top-down power of social and political control nor to

Foucault's productively dialogic power of bodies, behavior, and knowledge. The ecclesiastical power of inquisition (to define, to interpret, to investigate, to punish) offered itself as an arm of divine power: transcendent, inescapable, encompassing and surpassing all forms of earthly power, consequently more terrifying. It penetrated clerics themselves; their own power and vision was limited, incomplete, and deferred to God, embedded in a specific notion of Christian revelation, cosmography, and time. While it may resemble Foucault's discursive power, its tone was altered, its words interpreted differently, a descant added. For example, inquisitors' investigations into the Christian soul—defined differently than in Foucault's carceral world—and their exhortations that it examine itself were ultimately second to God's omniscience. To medieval inquisitors, "persecution" itself was morally neutral, its culpability and value dependent upon the identities of the persecutor and the persecuted, the (self-defined) righteousness of the persecution taking place.³⁶ Contextualizing heresy inquisitions, and their persecution and discipline, does not mean abandoning multilayered, complex social and political motives and circumstances, but rather fixing them within a dynamic spiritual geography that incorporated and blended the putatively "worldly" and "otherworldly." Even the simplest and most transparent explanations one might offer for inquisitions—desire for earthly authority, lust for lucre, jealousy, vengeance—not only were unstable in themselves and in cooperation with other factors, but also were colored by tints of meaning peculiar to that cosmography. To apprehend completely the medieval persecution of heretics, we must view it as an expression of one contextualized version of medieval Christianity, with its own meanings of discipline, punishment, power, and persecution.

Most important, then, by focusing closely on heresy inquisitions as instances of sociopolitical repression or as precursors of modern discipline, we miss what they tell us about medieval Christianity. Inquisition, an ecclesiastical office performed by clerics, was obviously "religious" in a formal sense. For apologetic Catholic historians, inquisition was "religious" because heresy was a genuine, diabolical attempt at religious and social corruption, and inquisitors did Christendom a favor by extinguishing it. This is simply unsupportable. For early modern Protestant polemicists and nineteenth-century progressive historians, inquisitors may have claimed they acted from reasons of piety, but they were hypocritical at worst or mistaken at best, because sincere Christian belief could never generate persecution. This is analytically risky for the historian in its presumption of a "real" Christianity of which

soidisant believers can be charged with ostensible violations, and in its related proposition of a faith immune to historical change. Particularly in the light of recent scholarship on religious persecution, it may seem more difficult to approach heresy inquisitions as a considered expression of genuine belief and piety: the same character as, say, charity, eucharistic devotion, and prayer.³⁷ Historiography that has ascribed medieval repression to doubt, anxiety, or fear does not, by definition, access the ways in which it could result affirmatively from calm conviction, rather than from a “religious irrationality” that constructs fantasies about the religious other.³⁸ Likewise, theories of persecution to preserve social or political privilege do not incline to the sincerity of persecutors’ belief in spiritual mandates for unity and assent.

While persecution’s moment of origin indeed embeds the choice to define specific beliefs and actions as heretical, the foundational proposition that religious dissent and disunity was intolerable within Christianity reached back to the early church. And a spectrum of behaviors that may be reductively defined as irrational can be deduced rationally from the interpretation of a body of religious authorities.³⁹ Consequently, inquisition’s cogency does not lie in its character as a bud of modern discipline, in its irrational persecution of religious “others” because of doubt—religious dissent might be repressed precisely because one does believe the tenets of a faith, especially one whose first texts condemn the practical and spiritually delegitimizing risks of disunity—or in excluding manufactured outsiders for the sake of social coherence and political power. Rather, inquisition illustrates how a measured manipulation of the Christian faith enabled the calmly ambitious decision to repress within a newly expanded universal *ecclesia*, to interrogate so many souls through so many bodies. Our challenge is to balance the obvious instability of electing to define something as “heresy” and sin at particular moments, with the permanence of these concepts’ place in Christian authorities and history. Our lesson is then not that heresy inquisitions were religious, but that the construction of their Christian foundations demonstrates one controversial limit of a dynamic pervasive in all aspects of Christian history: the simultaneously fragile and leaden interpenetration of historical situation with a calm interpretation of texts, traditions, and theology.

It is then precisely because of its affirmative rationality that inquisition most richly displays the ultimate interest of this book: what *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* tells us about medieval Christianity. First and most immediately, we perceive how Dominican inquisitors contributed to a strategy of Christian

spiritual discipline. The “mountain” built by Gregorian Reform featured both an architecture of divine and earthly authority and an economy of individual body and soul, into which heresy inquisitions fit perfectly, from which they leased particular meanings, and which they articulated and pursued in practice. By reading heresy inquisitions in terms of this extension, we expand our own understanding of the Roman church’s ambitions in the Middle Ages, the quality of its claim over Christian community and individual soul. Second, in their reconciliation of persecution and piety, heresy inquisitions demonstrate the range of creed and action that medieval Christianity—defined not as institutional church, but as a vivid system of belief—could support and encompass. Heresy inquisitors reflect the breadth and danger of how the obligations of Christianity could be imagined. We see a medieval Christianity that, at a particular moment, produced an inquisitorial piety in which investigation, torture, and execution occupied similar devotional space—resulting similarly from an interpretation of authorities and the present demands of humans’ binding to God—as pilgrimage and prayer. The Christian belief of inquisition’s practitioners and supporters demonstrates how society could be defined in such a way that faith reshaped and subsumed earthly experience, governing human relationships rather than vice versa.⁴⁰ We see how the other world was not the marginalia, but instead the grammar.

However, that piety was not constructed in a vacuum, and this (turning the above around) offers the third lesson that inquisitorial mentalities teach about medieval Christianity. Inquisitors’ conceptions of their work are a powerful instance of the renovation of Christian belief, or the dynamism of content and how it is constructed by particular interpretations of text, history, revelation, and symbol.⁴¹ Precisely because religious persecution was defined as mandate by some Christians at a particular moment, and was not structurally inherent, we should map closely the process by which a reworking of what it meant to be “Christian” cooperated with circumstance in order to support it. Inquisition was a conversation about Christianity in its practice—Do you believe the pope is the vicar of Christ?—and in its very existence. Could an inquisitor be holy? Was it Christ-like to execute? Dominican inquisitors and colleagues crafted affirmative answers, claiming persecution as fulfillment of belief. Those claims arose amid contestation, and the development of Christian meanings was a passionate conversation. But it is this particularly that conjures for us the context and stakes of inquisitors’ exercise in shaping Christian meanings: belief in God’s supervision of the universal *ecclesia*

offered ever new instances of authority, ever new demands and opportunities for interpreting his ostensible truth in past, present, and future. The dynamism of Christianity, demanded by historical time, meant a rollicking working-out of beliefs and obligations in which clergy and laity participated, with various results not easily plotted along obvious faultlines. And the fact that medieval Christians argued so stridently about the precise character and ramifications of the faith demonstrates how difficult it is for historians to posit an authoritative gauge of real belief.⁴² Heresy inquisitions, almost uniquely, show not just how sincere belief can generate repression in dialogue with situation, but also the dynamism of medieval Christianity, and the elusiveness of certainty about the historical ontology of faith.

Mapping the Spiritual Geography of Inquisition

In the Middle Ages, there was no capital-I “Inquisition.” In addition to *inquisitio*’s application to areas other than heresy, disparate *inquisitiones hereticae pravitatis* did not cohere into a single, bureaucratically unified institution. And there were numerous ways in which medieval inquisitions were weaker, more disorganized, and less effective than their structurally sophisticated early modern counterparts. Jurisdiction of individual inquisitors was local and often limited; lack of support or even outright enmity from secular authorities, lay communities, or local clerics obstructed inquisitorial activities; and many parts of Europe had only an erratic inquisitorial presence, or none whatsoever.⁴³ The office’s evolution from inquisitors with strictly personal jurisdiction into an institution was gradual, marked by a slowly increasing permanence of staff and of sites to conduct trials.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that medieval inquisitors would have considered their disparate *inquisitiones* to be a common enterprise of conceptual, if not bureaucratic, unity. By the mid-thirteenth century, discrete inquisitions were bound together by shared practices as well as by a common, always active discourse about the extirpation of heresy.

This practical and conceptual commonality was forged by inquisitors’ familiarity with various media, but most especially by the circulation of inquisitorial literature. In addition to the prescriptive texts that guided inquisitorial practice (authorizing canon law texts, early consultations that answered specific questions from working inquisitors, *formulae* for interrogations, fuller-

bodied manuals), the descriptive transcripts of trials and sentences were kept and consulted by subsequent inquisitors.⁴⁵ The several manuals composed between 1231 and 1331 demonstrate over time a marked increase in sophistication and range, including greater attention to inquisitorial theory and growing proleptic obsession with potentialities. They also elucidate a rich interplay of instruction and implementation, as *formulae* that were often based upon actual inquisitions were employed in practice and in turn appeared in trial transcripts. Many manuals also used identical sources, such as canon law texts and consultations, and pillaged their predecessors for source material. In addition, antiheretical texts written by Italian inquisitors in the mid-thirteenth century followed a long discursive tradition in the church, but also reflected contemporary circumstances of contestation in inquisitorial practice.⁴⁶ This descriptive and prescriptive literature, compiled chiefly by various Dominican inquisitors active in southern France and Italy, traveled and wove together disparate *inquisitiones*, uniting practical and ideological foundations with new developments demanding interpretation and harmony with predecessors. Because of this marriage of extant foundational texts and new ponderings, both manuals and records demonstrate a curious juxtaposition of consistency over time and, by the era of Bernard Gui, a clear hardening of tone and of ambition.

Much attention has recently been paid to the difficulty of interpreting and using trial transcripts as dependable sources for lay religiosity and heresy, with their many obscuring layers—differences in literal and cultural language, construction of smooth narratives from scattered testimony, scribal mediation, and the contexts of power in their production. John Arnold, for example, has sought to shed the historian's own inquisitorial skin by attempting to negotiate an "ethical," non-inquisitorial relation to depositions. Yet critiques such as Arnold's offer an image of the inquisitorial encounter that implicitly contrasts the neutral primer of inquisitorial "not-belief" with the positive colors of "subaltern" speech. The matter of productive and ethical access is still concerned with the deponents, the dead to whom we owe a "debt."⁴⁷ We might ask the disconcerting question of whether we also owe that debt to inquisitors, or, less vexingly, posit that listening for more complex tones of inquisitors' own beliefs helps us to understand these encounters as microcosmic and macrocosmic negotiations of Christianity. We might nuance "inquisitor versus deponent" differently not only by directing our interrogative abilities to inquisitors, but more substantively by examining *inquisitio* as conversation

about Christianity that was unstable and variegated on both “sides,” or in which the “sides” were not so distinct. After all, as later medieval Christians, Dominican inquisitors themselves were “confessing subjects.” This book then adopts, albeit differently, the inquisitorial pose critiqued by Arnold; here inquisitors are the “deponents” in our descriptive texts, which obstruct our channels into inquisitors’ mentalities less than they do our knowledge of lay beliefs and practices. One simple reason is that inquisitors, the architects of those practical conversations and the holders of literal power (not to imply that interrogations were monodirectional, as we will see), were not similarly silent. More important, we may balance descriptive and prescriptive texts against a variety of media beyond inquisition. Other genres of ecclesiastical texts reflected, and contributed to the construction of, inquisition’s perceived Christian meanings: papal bulls; preaching guides, sermons, and *exempla*; legislation and life of church and order; biblical exegesis and theology; histories; hagiography. Inquisitors’ putative isolation from a wider field of belief, their hermetic sealing within the office, is partly a product of modern *apologiae* and cannot be sustained. Nor should it be if we wish to understand how their mentalities of inquisition were woven into the wider fabric of medieval Christian belief, and in turn affected that fabric’s color. The sketch that follows of the Christian meanings Dominicans derived from, and ascribed to, the work of inquisition is admittedly dependent upon texts, and seeks above all to recapture beliefs that were attached to the body of Christian authorities and experience. However, inquisitors’ thoughtful conclusions about the obligations of being a Christian were not only responsive, elective, and mutable; they were also disseminated in practice and had very real consequences.

This book maps inquisitors’ spiritual geography in two major sections. The first section, “In the Garden,” sketches in three chapters how Dominican inquisitors and supporters in the high Middle Ages sacralized the new office of inquisition by appeal to extant currents of Christian belief. Chapter 1 describes how in treatises and sermons Dominicans deployed traditional Christian antiheretical imagery in the specific context of *inquisitio*. Yet as inquisition itself occupied space and status within a historical and soteriological frame, this was not the simple imposition of discourse, but a contested conversation over the faith in which the laity adopted inquisition’s language and premises and turned them against the office. The second chapter considers a productive effect of lay resistance: the claimed sanctity of slain inquisitors. Dominican inquisitors who were killed in the course of their work could

be celebrated as holy “martyrs,” a bidirectional relationship in which inquisition and inquisitor saints mutually sacralized the other, balancing external assertions of this sanctity and internal fortification of the order’s identity. Conversely, as the third chapter argues, a saint could be repositioned as an inquisitor. Dominican historians closely involved with inquisitions rewrote the history of their order to re-present its past, and the past of Dominic, more aggressively as the fulfillment of a divine charge to oppugn heresy. In the two cases outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, these identifications reflect for us mentalities that saw heresy as sin and its eradication as an act of piety, but also had internal and external effects that tried to respond to the contentious, difficult circumstances of inquisition. While brothers who were hesitant or afraid to join this work could be encouraged by these holy models, the sanctity joined to inquisition could (with less success) be offered to the laity as another argument of inquisition’s pious and salvific character.

The book’s second section, “Inquisition as Divine Discipline,” turns from the sacralizing and sacralized imaginative context in which inquisition was embedded to its practice on the ground, examining how the plain work of inquisition—investigation, interrogation, confession, penance, and execution—was envisioned and promoted by inquisitors as a salvific form of divine discipline (whose earthly arm was, of course, the Roman church). In other words, we turn from a mapping of the spiritual geography within which inquisitors found Christian meanings for inquisition, to the ways in which practice itself promoted that geography and tried to place all souls within it. The two chapters in this section consider how Dominican inquisitors and their supporters argued for universal “monastery” by insisting strenuously on God’s inescapable jurisdiction over all souls. Chapter 4, “Souls and Bodies,” sketches how inquisition resembled and allied with pastoral care by seeking to cultivate the soul’s inner will to belong and obey, and to believe heresy to be sin: an extension of monasticism’s traditional economy of body and soul to the laity. Here the universal breadth of divine jurisdiction was matched only by the depth of divine knowledge of the individual, including those things concealed from inquisitorial authority. And as Chapter 5 (“The Deserved Punishment”) argues, the removal of the “recalcitrant” and “relapsed” heretic from the penitential forum of inquisition to the secular court that would impose death did not imply distance, but greater closeness; it provided yet another argument for God’s (and the church’s) expansive jurisdiction. Inquisitors and their supporters made Christian sense of the death penalty for heresy by

arguing that it was, in fact, traditional: God, and secular authorities appointed for the task, had long killed truculent apostates, and what was more important, this “first death” was nothing compared to the “second death” of damnation that unrepentant heretics surely received. This not only sought to assuage the great resistance among the laity to the death penalty, but also fused together inquisitorial and divine judgment and jurisdiction. Inquisitors, then, insisted that both their success (reconciling the ostensibly guilty to the church through penance) and their failure (handing over the “recalcitrant” and “relapsed” for execution) were means by which God tended all bodies and souls in his all-encompassing, inescapable community.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich, an editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, once rejected an article on medieval torture submitted by Henry Charles Lea because its subject matter was “too horrible” for the magazine’s readers.⁴⁸ This book is vulnerable to a similar charge. David Nirenberg has remarked upon not only the value, but also the danger, of localizing, contextualizing, historicizing, calibrating the balance between human agency and structural mentality, especially “in the face of [the] cataclysm” of violence. Historians risk “embrac[ing] a naïve rationalism in our haste to escape the irrational,” a rationalism that bears potential implications of the victim’s guilt, the violence’s “naturalness,” the perpetrator’s excuse, and the modern scholar’s apologetics.⁴⁹ Yet in the case of heresy inquisitions, the alternative prevents us from seeing how religious persecution can be embedded in a foundation of the “rational thinking” of text and tradition, granting us a particular perspective on the piety of some medieval Christians, a piety that demonstrates tense remakings of the world. This book’s examination of the difficult subject of medieval inquisitions, whose angels and demons have exchanged masks for centuries, shows us how different Christians had their own contested visions of the “horrible,” and mapped their own territories of fear. These territories were together earthly and heavenly, as fear dynamically governed the mapping that in turn plotted sites of fresh fear. As we will see, these heavens illuminated with their strange light all things done or felt here below, translating into their unique idiom cruelty as well as gentleness. But at the same time, the mundane reflected its own light back to those heavens, now ruled by a persecuting Christ.

PART I

In the Garden

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CHAPTER I

The Wolves and the Sheep

FRANCESCA DE MUSELLO, testifying before Friar Joachim in Bologna in 1305, recounted a conversation she had had with Bartolomea de Savigno ("Bona"), who was sympathetic to the radical poverty of the Apostolic Brethren, or Dolcinites. According to Francesca, Bona asked her a perfectly orthodox question: if she confessed her sins, and to whom. When Francesca answered that she confessed to Dominican friars, the "heretic" Bona's response was a rejection neither of confession nor of penance, but of those confessors. She asked, "What good to you are fasts, or prayers, when you adhere to the Friars Preachers, who are the enemies of God?"¹ About twenty years after Francesca's testimony, the Dominican Jean Gobi's *exempla* collection, *Scala coeli* (1323–1330), recounted a century-old tale that voiced similar tension over identity. When Bishop Fulk of Toulouse once preached that heretics were wolves and faithful Catholics sheep, he was interrupted by a heretic who had been blinded and whose nose had been cut off by Count Simon of Montfort during the Albigensian Crusade. When the maimed heretic asked when it had become customary for the sheep to bite the wolf, Fulk responded that every community needed dogs to attack its wolves.²

Who were the "enemies of God" according to western European Christians in the Middle Ages? Who were the sheep and who were the wolves? This was a contested question in the world of medieval "heresy" and inquisition, so contested that it generated lay violence against inquisition that answered inquisitorial violence; moreover, it mattered to Christians (wherever they sat on a variable spectrum of belief) that "enemies of God" existed. Of course,

Christian texts that treated, maligned, and identified various heretical positions are multiple and stretch back to the earliest days of the movement, from Paul's warnings about "pseudoapostles," schismatics, and dissent in letters written before the Gospels; to the attacks of the *adversus hereticos* genre beginning in the second century; to Augustine's defenses of the imperial coercion of the Donatists. In Christianity's first centuries, these polemics were often productive for both institutional cohesion and the related settlement of theological debates; also, charges of heresy were an effective, if obfuscating, way to inflate reassuring claims of ecclesiastical truth. Very simply, charges of heresy performed a different function amid institutional and theological development and persecution than they would in the context of hegemony.

Many scholars have considered ecclesiastical depictions of "heresy," and of individual beliefs and practices deemed heretical, after that hegemony was effected in Europe. Historians, most notably R. I. Moore, have investigated the secular and ecclesiastical discourse of all groups that began to suffer persecution in the high Middle Ages, including supposed heretics in the period before the Albigensian Crusade. Studies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have produced a debate about "reappearance" of heresy and clerics' retroactive epistemology in categorizing difference, about the balance between ecclesiastical "fantasy" and the real existence of dissent among Christians.³ Nevertheless, the existence of genuine deviation from the Roman church's theology or order—most lastingly the "good men" of Languedoc and various movements of apostolic poverty—is undeniable. As Moore and others have pointed out, whatever the weaknesses of the fable of "the Cathar church," dualism was indeed being advocated by the 1230s. In addition, the differences over poverty, papal authority, and biblical interpretation patent among the Waldenses, the Spiritual Franciscans and their lay supporters (Beguins), and the Dolcinites were matters of theology as well as discipline. Also, as previously noted, the "heresy" that permitted inquisitorial investigation was an expansive category encompassing degrees of sinful behavior and sympathy for heretics.⁴

In the twelfth century, the circulation of antiheretical literature, the stiffening of positions in the face of opposition, and the connections between heresy and rejection of discipline intensified "heresy." Two of the most prominent churchmen of the twelfth century, the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable, both attended to heresy. Bernard joined his order in preaching against the *boni homines* in the Midi, and he joined them also in disseminating a popular typology of heresy. One of

Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs, composed at the behest of Praemonstratensian prior Everwin of Steinfeld in 1143, who had requested that Bernard expound on 2:15 (the little foxes spoiling the vines), particularly popularized that text as a metaphor for heresy.⁵ Peter's hatred of heresy matched his antipathy against Jews and Muslims. Peter's letter to the bishops of Arles, Embrun, Die, and Gap that introduced *Contra Petrobrusianos* (1139–1140) condemned the "impious heresy" of Peter of Bruys (d. c.1130) and his adherents with familiar rhetoric: "now hiding itself from fear, now having taken up boldness . . . it deceives whom it can, it corrupts whom it can, and now these and now those it gives to drink deadly poisons."⁶ Other polemical texts helping to shape a "heretical essentialism" in this period included the former heretic Bonacursus's *Manifestatio heresis catarorum* or *Vita hereticorum* (1176–1190); Alan of Lille's *De fide catholica contra hereticos sui temporis praesertim Albigeneses libri quatuor* (1179–1202); the anonymous *Summa auctoritatum* (c.1200); the *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* (c.1210–1216), attributed to a certain Georgius, a layman; Durand of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis* (c.1190) and *Liber contra Manicheos* (c.1223), written respectively before and after his return to the Roman church from Waldensianism in 1207; and the layman Salvo Burci's *Liber suprastella* (1235).⁷ And the common antiheretical imagery and rhetoric deployed in such texts was attached explicitly to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* most prominently by Innocent III. Innocent repeatedly cited in his writings several biblical allusions that would be frequently reiterated in later inquisitorial texts: foxes having diverse faces but tails bound together (Judges 15:4); a crab crawling in secret (2 Timothy 2:17); wolves dressed in sheep's clothing (Matthew 7:15); "merchants who mix wine with water and give to drink the dragon's poison in the golden cup of Babylon" (Deuteronomy 32:33; Jeremiah 51:7; cf. Revelation 16:19; Proverbs 23:30–32), and the little foxes spoiling the vines.⁸ Also commonly deployed was the ambivalent parable of the wheat and the tares, which could be read both as favoring tolerance and forbidding it.⁹

The intent here then is not to sketch how heretics were represented by Christians from the first century to the fourteenth. Instead, we will focus on a different dynamic for Dominican inquisitors and their supporters in the order. A location of heresy within a biblical and ecclesiastical history of enmity to God that long preceded Dominican appointments certainly relates to the greatest challenge that inquisitors met in their attempted spiritual discipline of laypeople: discernment.¹⁰ Difference, disobedience, and rejection

positioned “heretics” as “enemies of God” standing in ontological and genealogical line with biblical apostates and antichrists, but also with the subtler “pseudoprophets” and wolves dressed as sheep, those who from the church’s origins had offered the specter of an alternative Christianity impugning as errant the majority of believers. To inquisitors, even those who believed that heresy was the “true Christian faith” were then touched by this apostasy. The matter of constructing a discourse of heresy—venerable in the Christian church, and adopted and adapted in the circumstances of heresy inquisitions—was then deeply bound with the problem of discernment that inquisition in practice both sought to resolve authoritatively and to claim as its privileged domain. As we will see further below, the inquisitorial conversation was a site of careful instruction, the guidance of the individual will that necessarily attempted to settle controversies of discerning the “true faith,” the genuinely pious, and so on. Discernment, then, which created such obvious problems for inquisitors by engendering sympathy for the ostensibly pious, weakening authority, and generating resistance, itself productively manufactured opportunities for spiritual discipline, for seeking to assert and to implement the individual’s belonging to the universal community of the Roman church. The most obvious utility of the antiheretical discourse inherited and transformed by Dominican inquisitors and supporters in the early thirteenth century was, then, as background and embodying muscle for these contentious conversations.

But in the precise context of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* beginning in the 1230s, we witness a different kind of contestation. Asserting that the Roman church was “good” (allied with God) and knowing deviations from it “evil” (allied with Satan), which took place through various inquisitorial media, was not a hermetically sealed process of claiming heretics to be wicked in a flat typology. It is indubitable that Dominicans supportive of heresy inquisitions iterated traditional biblical imagery, spoke of “common beliefs” and of foxes with different faces bound by the tail, and could reach back into the past for identification and categorization. (Bernard Gui still spoke of “new Manichees” in 1323.) But the inquisitorial encounter rendered this more complex than such language might immediately suggest. Those identifications were often untidily public and often responsive; the division was not so neat as between simple sinners and elaborate fantasy. Moreover, there was an ironic fragility to this discourse of traditional heretical sin and wickedness. First, greater sensitivity, diversity, and change in reading “heresy” is perhaps more

patent among inquisitors than a transmuting discourse would imply, and was so because of the experience of inquisition. But if that experience confronted inquisitors with the failure of “heretical essentialism” as they encountered complexities in practice, this difference could be retrofitted into a condemnation just like essentialized flatness. Second, the biblical texts constructing heretical typology were polysemous messages about heresy in theology and history, potentially unstable both in interpretation and in modern analogue. Third, related and most important, antiheretical discourse could slip its leash, as “overarching rhetorical patterns” had ambiguous targets, and could even be turned against inquisitors.¹¹ As we see with Bona and Francesca, the pendant of quarrels over discerning “good Christians” was that lay contestation itself assumed and deployed antiheretical rhetoric against inquisition, charging that inquisitors and their brethren were the true heretics, antichrists, and “enemies of God.”¹²

What we see in the inquisitorial encounter is something more complex than inquisitors’ tossing up of a reified, impermeable antiheretical discourse that fell flat at the feet of disdainful laypeople. Nuancing this deployment were the experience of contestation, the experience of change in dissent, the expansion of inquisitorial attention to broad “sin,” and, crucially, lay acceptance of some fundamentals in that discourse, particularly after decades of its airing throughout the thirteenth century. Medieval Christian authors’ and inquisitors’ antiheretical discourse—however much it awkwardly matched dissent or difference to inherited notions of “heresy”—was ultimately bound to a deeper and broader ideology of sin, evil, justice, and punishment disseminated to laypeople in venues beyond inquisition. And particularly because discernment was the heart of *inquisitio*, and instruction its instrument, lay Christians could place inquisition itself within the discursive rhetoric long used in characterizing and impugning heresy, understanding inquisitors as the wicked and falsely pious about whom they were told. In practice, then, this was not the identical “heretical essentialism” one might perceive in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century treatises. The dynamic was more troubled than simple assertion and rejection mapped on an inquisitor/laity faultline; the operations and contestation lay at a lower level where diverse people struggled over the content, and true earthly representatives, of the Christian faith. That faith was simultaneously stable and unstable; in the matter of identifying “enemies of God,” it was often traditional in its currents, but uncertain in its identifications. We attend here not to an antiheretical discourse that did or

did not resemble reality, but rather to one striking, and perhaps unexpected, way in which inquisition served as a contentious crafting of Christian belief.

The Wolves and the Sheep

Texts

Working inquisitors began to produce antiheretical treatises immediately after the first commissions of Dominicans in the 1230s. These were the heirs of those late antique antiheretical polemics and, more immediately, of the disputation literature of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Like their predecessors, the inquisitorial texts ostensibly arose from and were intended to serve the actual confrontation between cleric and accused heretic. The influence of this interaction was clear in the treatises (through structure as well as language like *dicendum est*), and their authors were explicit that they intended their brethren to use them as handy guides. And like the earlier antiheretical treatises, they claimed dependably to inform their readers on heretical beliefs and practices. Yet in the special context of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, this literature performed other functions. Most simply, unlike the pre-Albigensian Crusade and pre-inquisition disputation literature, we are in a very different context of compulsion. By the mid-thirteenth century, the rhetoric of “disputation” was more farcical, although lay contestation to inquisition was a strong undercurrent. Inquisitorial authors continued to locate dissidents from the Roman church within a “tradition” of contumacious error and apostasy, while valorizing inquisition as a current manifestation of the divine discipline with which God had long met such disobedience. We see then a balance of structural discourse and response, a balance of past and present. And in these treatises, we can both “witness” debate that occurred on the ground, and read inquisitors’ more variegated images of heresy. But apprehending (or, acknowledging) that diversity did not mean a retreat from condemnation; to inquisitors, disunity could connote diabolism, and their sensitivity could still be disparagement.

A quick example of the disparaging language with which these treatises were dappled comes from Peter of Verona (d.1252), whom we will meet in the following chapter as the canonized “Peter Martyr.” Born in Verona in 1203 reportedly into a family of heretics, Peter was received into the Order of Preach-

ers in Bologna in 1221, possibly under Dominic himself. His activities as a Dominican illustrate the diversity of works that members of the order could undertake in “seeking those who go astray.” He preached widely in Italy, participated in public disputations against heretics, and is the likely author of a *Summa contra hereticos* circa 1235. Peter possibly played a role in ensuring the establishment and enforcement of antiheretical statutes in Milan, although this has been disputed.¹³ In addition to this work against heresy, Peter fulfilled other duties in the order, including the priorates of the Dominican houses at Asti and Piacenza in 1248 and 1249 respectively, and pastoral care among religious women in Milan, founding the convent of St. Peter of the Vine in 1247.¹⁴ Like that of his colleague Raynier Sacconi below, Peter’s background in a Cathar community in Verona was offered as unusual expertise, the elucidation of what was otherwise secreted, obfuscated, and cloaked with false piety. He claimed both to prove the antique charge of secrecy and dissimulation and to destroy it through his treatise. Peter’s treatise included blunt castigations of heresies as “error,” “dementia,” “pestilence,” “madness” and “perfidy.” Heretics “babble,” “err mortally,” “blaspheme,” “rave,” and were “made fools of.” But Peter did not describe deviation from the Roman faith as simply insanity and illogic; it was a form of diabolism. Heretics “speak demonically,” an—in a likely allusion to 1 Timothy 1:19–20—“in this article, as also in others, they are led by diverse and diabolical fantasies” to suffer their various theological “shipwrecks.”¹⁵

The diversity of those fantasies was paralleled (or created) by the diversity of heresies. In Peter’s *summa*, the practical knowledge gained about differences transmuted into attack, as this diversity contrasted negatively to unity. “Dissent” here meant not just from the Roman church’s creeds and practices, but additionally from each other. Peter’s treatise presented a dizzying kaleidoscope of refracted heretical beliefs, as divisions fell into subdivisions and on again. Repeatedly Peter parsed “Patarine” beliefs with the language of difference and diversity: *multipliciter*, *quadripliciter*, *diversimode*. Surely this in part fed from a zeal for categorization and order, an attempt at the tidiest and fullest outline of theological creeds. Yet it also presented an overload of chaos and a riot of beliefs, as the “Patarines,” according to Peter, devolved into disagreement and disorder in a diversity that was not rich, but rather lent the sense of spiritual impoverishment. Peter exhaustingly offered beliefs in which there was no unity: “some” said this about Christ’s humanity, “others” thought alternatively, still others held a third opinion. Moreover, this complex

multiplicity of heretical sects and their beliefs paralleled their refracted cosmographies, as these multiple beliefs concerned a deconstructed multiplicity of figures. "Certain of them say that there are as many holy spirits as there are good men. . . . Others chatter that there are three holy spirits."¹⁶ Although Peter carefully noted the "common errors" on which all heretics agreed, more frequently "they are divided." This division did not just apply to the "Patarines." Even an obscure sect like the "Predestinati" was divided into "four kinds." Significantly, Peter reported that the breaking away of the Waldenses from the Roman church in their "pride" and "contumacy" was then replicated by their own internal schism. We indeed witness in Peter's *summa* the ecclesiastical genealogy we might expect; heresy originated "from Simon Magus and from the Manichees." But nevertheless Peter could discern both difference and degree among heretics, observing that the "Circumcisi" "seem to err more seriously than other heretics." Appreciation of difference, likely a reflection of practice, could still be transmuted into an attack upon "pestilence."¹⁷

Peter's colleague Raynier Sacconi, a converted Cathar, provided succinct but even more distinctive insight in his *Summa de catharis et leonistis seu pauperibus de Lugduno* (1250). Almost the entire treatise was devoted to Raynier's former heresy, with only a very brief section on the "Poor of Lyon." Raynier had been appointed inquisitor in Pavia circa 1245 and would escape a plot that planned his and Peter of Verona's death; he replaced Peter as inquisitor in Milan and there supervised the first trial of Peter's killers in September 1252. Raynier's expertise in heresy resulted from both his tenure as an inquisitor and his years as a Cathar, which, as he stressed, made him a trustworthy authority on their errors and uniquely able to deconstruct heretics' claims to piety. He had himself heard Nazarius, head of the Cathar sect of Concorezzo, deny Christ's humanity, and had read through a book compiled by Johannes de Lugio of their "blasphemies and errors."¹⁸ Given Raynier's past, the treatise had the slight tone of an *exposé*, as the new Dominican relished his special ability to disclose to his colleagues how truly and deeply the entirety of Cathar theory and practice was divorced from or antithetical to the truth of the Roman church. And the treatise also featured the force of historical change, both in heresies' corrupt deterioration into smaller sects, and in the progression that made their destruction in time possible. The inquisitor began his treatise with a burst of optimistic triumph: "although there were once many heretical sects, which have been almost completely destroyed through the grace of Jesus Christ," now only two remained, the opinions of which would

follow. He agreed with Peter of Verona that while heresies' origins might be similar, historical development led to different fates in their encounter with the Roman church.¹⁹ The treatise's information on heresy, then, was expressly offered in order to further a process of extirpation, desired and patronized by God, that had been thus far successful. Like Peter of Verona, Raynier was sensitive to the diversity of Cathar beliefs, recognizing historical change and not merely regenerating a traditional discourse.

The treatise tackled first the opinions common to the heresy, organized by expositions of the "false, inane, illicit, and sacrilegious" Cathar sacraments (the imposition of hands, breaking of bread, penance, and orders), which were merely perverted imitations of truth. Raynier then listed the sixteen extant Cathar churches, and offered a historical and descriptive sketch of the particular beliefs of the various Cathar communities in Italy and France and their internal factions: the church of Desenzano (also known as Albanenses), divided into factions following Belesmanza of Verona and his *filius major* Johannes de Lugio of Bergamo; the church of Concorezzo, with its well-known bishop Nazarius (soon to be exhumed with his *filius major* Desiderius at Gattedo by inquisitors); the church of Bagnolo; and the church of Toulouse, Albi, and Carcassonne. This sensitivity to diversity and change also applied to the Waldenses. Raynier was aware of the schism that had occurred in 1205 between the ultramontane and the Lombard Waldenses, but had little to inform colleagues about that sect other than an observation culled from his inquisitorial activity: "I believe also that they say the same [that the laity can consecrate] about women, because they have not denied this to me." Again, this was linked not to a mistaken intellectual choice, but to a historical and spiritual bond with the original author of evil; the heretics about which Raynier wrote drank "the poison of error . . . from the mouth of the ancient serpent." For Raynier there was a dangerous substance to "difference," as, for example, in penance, where Cathars' rejection of the Roman church's schema of *contritio*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio* in favor of the laying on of hands meant that their various sins remained unrecompensed before God. They had no certainty in unity or righteousness: "All Cathars labor in the greatest doubt and danger of the soul."²⁰ This is a good example of how sensitive intelligence rather than flat essentialism still pursued an oppugning end; Raynier understood and presented this schism and difference as denying Cathar claims to religious truth (an observation that did not apply to the Roman church itself). And ultimately historical change had a linear progression, as the Cathars' subdivisions

into sects intimated a weakness that could eventually lead to their own eradication, like many now-defunct heretical sects. In this case, Raynier and his colleagues—and Raynier’s treatise itself—would nudge this process along.

Like Peter of Verona and Raynier Sacconi, Anselm of Alexandria, author of the *Tractatus de hereticis* (1260–1270), was brutally familiar with the ability of resistance to explode into violence. After inquisitorial appointments in Milan and the March of Genoa, Anselm was companion to Pagano da Lecco, an inquisitor in Lombardy and brother of the convent at Como, who was killed in 1277 at the reported instigation of nobleman Corrado di Venosta. Like Raynier with Peter, Anselm was then involved in the killer’s punishment; in 1279, Nicholas III encouraged the municipal authorities in Bergamo to assist Anselm and his inquisitorial colleagues Guido of Coconato and Daniele of Giussano in transferring Corrado and his accomplices to a secure place.²¹ Anselm’s own treatise rather tediously began with a genealogical narrative, explaining the origin of Cathars in the eastern “Bulgars.” However, it then explicated at length—interspersed with inquisitorial recommendations—the theological disagreements between various Cathars, divided into “sects.” Anselm was aware of the beliefs shared by “all Cathars,” but here too difference, rather than flattening, served as an argument against heresy and its spiritual authenticity. “Sects of heretics are many and diverse,” a diversity again resulting from conflict and indecision, as “the ultramontane condemn the Lombards, and vice versa”; the former had “excommunicated” the latter. Similarly, while Anselm listed agreements among Waldenses, he noted that they too had devolved into two sects. Significantly, Anselm concluded his treatise with a rather curious exposition on “Rome” and the Roman church, in which he contrasted the thundering and destructive glorious unity of Roman Christianity led by the pope with the chaotic diversity of forty-seven sects of heretics.²²

But as we see with Moneta of Cremona, “heretics” joined with Roman clerics in debating the theological nature of diversity and difference in Christianity and its legitimizing or delegitimizing power. We have already briefly met Moneta (see Introduction), who joined the infant Order of Preachers in Bologna circa 1218 and appears to have served as inquisitor in Milan in the 1230s. The chronicler Gerard de Frachet, describing in his encomium of imitable brothers, *Vitae fratrum* (c.1256), Moneta’s entrance into the order at Bologna under Reginald of Orléans, found it difficult to express “how much he accomplished in word and doctrine and in the confutation of heresies.”

This accomplishment was credited chiefly to his writing; Moneta was praised by the Dominican historian Étienne de Salagnac as one “who wrote a great and most worthy *summa* against the machinations of heretics.”²³ Moneta’s *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses* (1241–1244) comprised five books and was indeed “great” in scope, covering an impressive amount of ground and topics. The treatise had a tangible feel of disputation and dialogue, in that Moneta rhetorically assumed both offensive and defensive postures. Unlike Peter, Raynier, or Anselm, Moneta did not offer a cool description of heretical history and beliefs; he replicated in enormous detail the bitter and vivid conflict between Roman cleric and accused heretic that worked itself out in his own experience.²⁴ The treatise often took the shape of either a recorded conversation or one expected to take place in the future (*respondendum est, si dicat, dicendum est illi, o heretice, dico, dicas mihi*). To potential skeptics, Moneta cited his experience as support for the authenticity of the positions he ascribed to heretics; “because I had them either from their mouth or from their writings.”²⁵ His pose was, then, knowledgeable and informed, and it was from this stance of authority that the reader (or hearer, in the case of the model texts’ performance) was intended to trust this depiction of heresy.

It is clear from Moneta’s exposition that the spiritual meaning of diversity was a contested issue in the practical confrontation between friar and supposed heretic, and was embedded within a broader debate on the status of the Roman church as *ecclesia dei*. To Moneta, “a two-fold church is found in this world: the church of the saints, and the church of the malignant.” This was related to the dangerous falsity of heretics, “on the outside” clothed in the disguise of sheep by prayer and fasting, although on the inside they were “rapacious wolves.” “Although in external conduct [*conversatio*] they are like sheep, nevertheless in interior will they are wolves, devourers of all.” But heretics clearly levied against the Roman church a similar charge of spiritual emptiness, because of its success and its multiplicity: “it has multiplied and spread throughout the world, and on the contrary, the church of God is small.” Moneta had a typically tart response to this charge: if smallness lent a church spiritual validity, then as the Waldenses were even less popular than Cathars, they must possess more righteousness. The heretics then claimed that as the Bible prescribed that “the manner of salvation is one . . . therefore, since the way of the Roman church is multiplex, it is not of the way of salvation.” This sally alluded to the various states in the Roman church (monks, nuns, etc.), and interestingly paralleled Peter of Verona’s own use of “multiplex” as

a criticism, defining the various religious orders as analogous to his delegitimizing sects. Moneta responded that the Roman church's diversity in ways of life did not discount it as *ecclesia dei*: he agreed that there is one road to salvation, "but in that road are diverse roads and diverse paths . . . there are diverse ways of living for salvation in a single faith."²⁶ Moneta's distinction here was crucial; the Roman church's diversity was merely that of status and *conversatio*, as opposed to the theological disagreements, ritual diversity, and institutional division among heretical sects. We see here then in Moneta's treatise a doubled criticism of "multiplicity," a charge not solely deployed by Roman-ecclesiastical writers. How much difference could a body of faith support without devaluating itself? While Moneta (like his colleagues) argued that diversity in belief was the crux, regardless of ways of life, his interlocutors contended that a church spread throughout the world, with its several categories of clerics, could not be God's simple church.

Of course, there was some complicated disingenuousness in these critiques of heretical diversity and proclamations of Roman unity. Peter of Verona and Raynier Sacconi were themselves proof of the success of which they bragged, their treatises a version of former heretics' public abjurations of heresy at an inquisition's sentencing *sermo generalis*. But we see the lingering appearance of contestation in debate particularly in Moneta's treatise.²⁷ More important, these Dominican authors were offering a phantasmatic unity and harmony for their own church, even if they indeed described heresies' diversity accurately. The very existence of those whom Moneta of Cremona called "false brothers"—the very attempt to return them to "ecclesiastical unity" because they belonged to the Roman church through baptism—indicated that the Roman church itself was rent by division. The "two-fold church" distinguished by saints and malignant did not abandon the latter but instead laid punitive or transforming claim on them, the project for which Moneta's treatise was designed. Any rhetoric about heresy as different, as a "pestilence" other than the Roman church, was in practice denied by the claims of universal community and divine authority that underlay its inquisitorial punishment.²⁸ In these treatises, reflecting and intended to assist Dominican antiheretical activity, "description" served as argument, certainly, but it was also more. Familiar rhetoric about heresy (poison, madness) was teamed here with an attempt to discriminate carefully, a discrimination that was no more generous than flatness, and that masked the disagreement potentially weakening the Roman church. Inquisitorial practice, by disclosing diversity, became

another argument about heresy's apostasy, a way to argue over the qualities of the unitary *ecclesia dei*.

Preaching

The texts above might be seen as consequences of the original Dominican ministry against heresy and the confrontation on the ground. But the Dominicans were primarily the Order of Preachers, born from Dominic's initial preaching movement and the adoption of the *vita apostolica* to counter heresy and tend souls. As Innocent III famously complained in *Vergentis in senium*, silent clerics were "dumb dogs who do not bark," allowing heresy to wax. Preaching served the Roman church's disciplinary effort in various ways: instructive preaching to the laity, preaching against heresy, preaching as a crucial ingredient in an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*. As a—perhaps the—moment of engagement with the public, preaching was an ideally cogent venue to articulate the Roman church's ecclesiology, to confront the matter of discernment by (among other things) asserting that inquisition was the work of Christ, and conversely that conscious deviation from the Roman church was the work of the devil. Disputation and dissemination occurred here, just as it did with texts, and was expressly designed to influence lay audiences. As with antiheretical treatises, Dominican preaching against heresy had predecessors and companions, such as the German abbot Eckbert of Schönau's *Sermones contra hereticos* (1163), and, as Beverly Mayne Kienzle has shown, the prominent antiheretical activity of Bernard of Clairvaux's Cistercian brethren in Languedoc before the Albigensian Crusade. The order's house of Fontfroide in southern France was a common home of preachers and papal legates, including Pierre de Castelnau, whose death in 1208 would spark the crusade.²⁹

As is well known, it was this Cistercian model that in backwards fashion generated the Order of Preachers. When Dominic Gúzman, a cathedral canon from Osma in Castile, traveled through Languedoc in 1203 as an assistant to his bishop Diego of Osma, both were greatly disturbed at the popularity there of the "good men" (*boni homines*) and dismayed at the dichotomy between poor, apparently pious, and enthusiastically evangelizing heretics and wealthy, at best ineffectual, and at worst scandalous, Catholic prelates. The Cistercians, deputed against heresy, failed to match zealously instructive preaching with proper austerity in manner and dress. As Jordan of Saxony, the

Dominican order's second master general, wrote, Diego of Osma had offered good advice to the papal legates sent to Languedoc to preach against heresy in 1206. Hectoring these well-dressed Cistercians mounted on their horses, Diego urged them to "see the heretics, while they display the appearance of piety . . . they convince the simple of their ways. . . . Turn the key with a key, chase away false holiness with true religion, because the arrogance of the pseudoapostles wants to be convicted by visible humility."³⁰ Famously, Diego and Dominic's adoption of the simplicity and humility of the *vita apostolica*, together with its evangelical preaching, was both the germ of the order and a tactical strategy against heresy. Preaching would continue to be the distinct core of Dominican identity, the activity that lent the order its name, and preaching against heresy was a crucial part of the foundational mission. It was a prominent convention in the historiography and hagiography of Dominic and the early brothers.³¹ As a Dominican chronicle kept at St. Eustorgio in Milan described the order's preaching in its early days,

For those friars' manner of preaching was this: one [brother] always everywhere and at all times preached on the joys of paradise, another on the pains of hell, another on the day of judgment and another on the charity and friendship of God, another on mercy to the poor, another against sins and another on mercy toward sinners, and these last two bore greater fruit among the people.³²

We might be amused by this medieval Dominican "good cop/bad cop" routine, but its binaries replicated those contained in their simple sketching for the laity of the Roman church's spiritual geography and its entailments (heaven/hell, reward/punishment). Yet this competition did not lead to the young movement's success against heresy in Languedoc, where the Cistercians had also failed. In his *legenda* of Dominic, Humbert of Romans (master general 1254–1263) described the Albigensian Crusade as Innocent III's recognition that the material sword could be wielded to destroy heresy when it became clear that "the sword of the spirit, that is, the word of God" was insufficient to eradicate it. And in the years of the crusade, during which Dominic's preaching movement was formally constituted by Honorius III as the *Ordo praedicatorum* (1216), the early preaching still incorporated heresy within this schema, and did so amid dissident sermons. The Milan chronicle thus described the brothers in 1219:

Those two brothers [Iacobus de Ariboldis and Robaldus de Albigania] began to preach against the Albigensian error, with which the entire city of Milan, Italy, France, and Toulouse were infected. . . . All the people gathered at their preachings, with the heretics publicly preaching the contrary. There were continually disputations and many controversies among the people; some adhered to the heretics, others to the Friars Preachers.³³

Another Dominican chronicle succinctly united both swords: "At that time, the count of Montfort [was] fighting against heretics with the material sword, and blessed Dominic with the sword of the word of God."³⁴

When Gregory IX commissioned Dominicans as heresy inquisitors in the 1230s after the crusade's failure of the material sword, preaching—"the sword by which a man can defend himself against" diabolical temptations—was again pressed into service.³⁵ Dominican friars in southern France sought to assist the difficult task of establishing inquisitions there in the 1230s by complementary preaching against heresy. Inquisitor and historian Guillaume Pelhisson reported that when a Dominican preached a sermon in Toulouse in 1232 in which he said that "heretics remained in the town and had their gatherings there and spread their heresies," the tumult that followed his words led the town's consuls to order the brothers to stop antiheretical preaching. Roland of Cremona, the theology master from the University of Paris who had come to Toulouse in 1230 to teach, reportedly responded to the consuls that "certainly now it is necessary that we preach more and more against heretics and their believers," which "he and others did manfully and intrepidly." Guillaume reported that his onetime colleague Arnaud Cathala, who was attacked by an angry crowd in Albi in 1234, "manfully and intrepidly preached against heresy." In addition, Guillaume praised a certain brother Maurice (d. 1249) of the convent in Toulouse as the "best preacher against heretics." (Gerard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* agreed with Pelhisson on Maurice, calling him "a fervent and effective preacher against heretics.")³⁶ Historian Étienne de Salagnac reported that the impromptu burning of the heretic Peytavi Boursier's mother-in-law in Toulouse by local bishop (and Dominican) Raymond du Falga de Miremont, on Dominic's first feast day in 1234, was followed by a sermon by Pons de St Gilles, an inquisitor and the order's local prior, on heresy.³⁷ As we saw above, Peter of Verona, who would become the order's second saint in 1253, numbered among his efforts against heresy

not only his work as an inquisitor, but also preaching tours throughout Italy in the 1230s and 1240s.

We might expect such preaching by friars who were not themselves appointed inquisitors, amid the chaotic difficulties of instituting inquisitions soon after the Albigensian Crusade. Yet we also glimpse its persistence amid inquisition's greater institutionalization and sophistication. For example, Pope John XXII's lengthy public condemnation of Louis of Bavaria, Michael of Cesena, and Pietro Rainalducci of Corvaro (the antipope Nicholas V, 1328–1330) was inserted into the minutes of the Dominican order's general chapter in 1330. This general chapter, which demanded that provincial and conventual priors seek out and punish brothers sympathetic to the Spiritual Franciscans, allows us to view how the friars were intended to transmit identifications of "heresy" to the laity by preaching. The pope commanded through Dominican master general Barnabas of Vercelli that brothers appointed to the task were "to explain to the people in sermons in the vernacular" his specific reasons for condemning Louis, Michael, and Pietro, which were presented neatly and simply for convenient adaptation. Louis's "heresies" included not only his patronage of the Spiritual Franciscans but also, significantly, his belief that it was the emperor's duty to "institute, abandon, and punish" the pope. Pietro Rainalducci had violated obedience to the Franciscan order and to the pope. Michael of Cesena had preached "many detestable things" against the church, and offended papal authority by fleeing rather than appearing before the pope as commanded. All listeners were warned not to assist or support Michael, "but rather they should pursue him as a heretic and corruptor of the faith; and if they can, they should seize him and faithfully hold him in custody, to be subjected to ecclesiastical discipline." Barnabas of Vercelli personally added that he, "wishing to be obedient in all things" to the pope's commands, was instructing the diffinitors (friars chosen to attend the chapter as representatives) present at the chapter to take copies of the condemnation back to their home provinces. They were to inform provincial and conventual priors "that they should make known, either by themselves or by suitable brothers, each and every thing pertaining to this matter, by spreading it abroad in public sermons, and by leading people to obedience of the holy Roman church and to the confutation of the said rebellious heretics and schismatics."³⁸

While this was a particularly elevated example, preaching against heresy generally throughout this period was a similar arena for attempts to dislodge heresy's spiritual credibility among the laity. Moreover, diverse sermon topics

permitted these attempts. For example, archbishop of Pisa Federico Visconti seized the opportunity of a sermon at the feast of Dominic, preached publicly in the vernacular at the Dominican church of St. Catherine in Pisa, at some point during his episcopate (1254–1277). The sermon treated the origins of *heretica pravitas* in Languedoc, focusing specifically on its adherents' sexual immorality in terms that echoed both ancient charges against the early Christians and later "heretics" ("they mingled with each other as if in love when a torch of candles was extinguished") and the familiar rhetoric of secrecy and false piety ("they began to preach under the likeness of piety . . . which was against the will of God. . . grievously and fraudulently they began to preach . . . many other errors").³⁹ More strikingly, the Dominican Nicola da Milano attacked heresy in a sermon about Mary preached in Imola in April, 1287. Preaching on Leviticus 23:40 ("And you shall take on the first day the fruit of goodly trees"), Nicola stated that Mary "is compared to a cedar, because as a cedar with its scent drives off serpents and poisonous animals, so the blessed virgin drives off heretics, Jews, and pagans. Rejoice, virgin Mary, you alone have alone destroyed all heresies."⁴⁰ Parish audiences not attending an inquisitorial *sermo generalis*, or not even perhaps expecting a sermon against heresy, were nevertheless confronted with various opportunities to hear such a sermon; thus we can see how streams of antiheretical imagery and rhetoric flowed beyond "heretical discourse" proper.

The preaching of antiheretical "crusades" offers further indications of how Dominican sermons beyond inquisition could shape and disseminate themes and imagery of heresy. One of Humbert of Romans's model sermons in his *De modo prompte cudendi sermones* (c.1266), the collection of *sermones ad status* that formed part of his preaching treatise *De eruditione predicatorum*, was "for the preaching of the cross against heretics," defending military force as one of the church's "remedies" against heresy. This ambitious goal was to be fulfilled by the preacher's explanation, first, of how "among all kinds of sins, heresy is worse [*peior*] in many ways." Humbert numbered among the differences between heresy and other sins the problem of discernment that inquisitors confronted in diverse ways in their work. Heresy was especially dangerous in its false piety that led others into wicked belief; "there are many other sins that do not conceal themselves, [and] they well recognize that they do evil [in] perpetrating those things. But [heresy] conceals itself under the likeness of good." The preacher was to cite Matthew 7:15, explaining that although heretics may be clothed as sheep, they were truly "rapacious wolves." Other

sins, Humbert granted, harmed oneself or a few others. Only obstinate heresy, cleverly concealed as good, “intends to destroy the whole church.” Samson’s foxes with diverse faces and tails bound together signified heresies, different in doctrine, but alike in wishing to lead good Christians into darkness and to ruin the church. Like robbers who lured traveling pilgrims from the right path for devious purposes, heretics created new “paths of descending to hell.” In order to disclose the falsity of these “pseudoprophets,” the church had adopted various measures to prove that they offered satanic lies, not godly truth: “preaching, disputing, conferring,” and excommunication. We will examine later Humbert’s defenses of violence here. But it is significant that in this sermon, which evoked several traditional biblical metaphors for wicked heresy, Humbert added another, Psalm 93’s “Who will rise up with me against the malignant ones; or who will stand with me against the doers of iniquity?” Humbert noted that although “this was once spoken by King David, now it was said by Jesus Christ, and indeed heretics are those malignant ones.” On the other hand, the sermon’s audience was intended to mark the converse of this diabolism countered by Christ, of this “malice of heretics,” by noting “how piously and in many pious ways the church works to call them back.”⁴¹

One of those “pious ways” was *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, and in heresy inquisitions preaching played a formal, stylized role, serving as public, didactic “brackets” of an inquisitor’s visit. According to an early inquisitors’ manual, Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre’s *Processus inquisitionis* (c.1248), the inquisitor’s general citation upon arrival in a town was an immediate opportunity for instruction; “we choose a place that seems to be more appropriate for this. . . . the clergy and people having been called together, we make a general preaching.” Inquisitors’ initial sermon taught a lesson on authority and jurisdiction. Letters from the pope and the Dominican provincial prior “on the form and commission of the inquisition” were “publicly” read, “and as is appropriate we explain [them].”⁴² Those with troubled consciences who were present were cited aloud to appear before the inquisitors within a prescribed time to confess “the things that they committed against the faith”; they were offered immunity from sentences of death, imprisonment, or exile if they came willingly and as penitents, speaking “the pure and full truth both about themselves and about others.” This was the “time of grace” for voluntary confessions.⁴³ The inquisitor Simon Duval’s letters announcing *inquisitiones* at Caen in 1277 and at Aurillac in 1278 also show how preaching served to assert inquisitors’ spiritual authority and jurisdiction, commanding the people of

those towns to appear on a particular date “to hear the word of God and the apostolic mandate.” These letters were included as models in the manual *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* (c.1280), ensuring that later inquisitors adopted this practice.⁴⁴ A consultation in the anonymous manual known as the *Libellus* (c.1300) advised that after this general citation, the inquisitor should arrange to gather the people and to preach once a week on the faith, either delivering the sermon himself or deputizing a preacher (this advice was later copied into the anonymous *De officio inquisitionis* c.1320).⁴⁵ We likely see evidence of this regular preaching by inquisitors in, ironically, a witness’s deposition. Hearing Atti da Reggio disparage Guido of Vicenza during that inquisitor’s sermon at the Dominican church of Reggio in 1299, Friar Manfredino da Campagnola tried to shush him, warning that Atti could be punished for “impeding” the preaching. After Atti indelicately retorted, among other insults, that he “crapped on him,” Manfredino reported this behavior to Guido that very day.⁴⁶ Finally, the *sermo generalis*, which concluded an *inquisitio* and at which sentences were announced publicly, featured preaching.

The precise themes, texts, and methods of instruction used in inquisitorial sermons may be reconstructed from two model sermons included by Humbert of Romans in *De modo prompte cudendi sermones*. It is clear from these models that Humbert was sensitive to the contestation that inquisitors met in their work and wanted the brothers to confront it by insisting that the Roman church was allied with God, no matter what strategies it adopted against heresy and whom it arrested and punished. As in Humbert’s model for preaching a crusade against heretics, these sermons were to attack aggressively the problem of discernment by asserting clearly the diabolical identity and alliances of heresy, and to warn their audiences that no one could be truly pious who deviated from the custom and faith of the Roman church. The model sermon “at the inquisition of heretics” (the initial sermon when an *inquisitio* was announced to a community and information was demanded) began by confronting heresy’s falsity by citing rapidly several biblical models: just as Satan transfigures himself into an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14), and pseudo-prophets and pseudoapostles (Acts 13:6, 2 Cor 11:13) haunted the early church,

so among Christians there are certain true Christians holding the true faith about Christ, and certain pseudochristians holding false faith, nevertheless they are both alike in Christianity, and the false ones are similar [to “true” Christians] in exterior appearance. For these false ones

are those ministers of Satan about whom Paul speaks. . . . It is to be noted that they are those tares in the good field, which the enemy—namely, the devil—sowed over the good seed. . . . They are those false prophets who come to men in the clothing of sheep, but on the inside they are rapacious wolves. . . . They are the Antichrist who will claim that he is the true Christ, and nevertheless he will be contrary to him, so also they claim that they are true Christians, and so they are contrary to them.⁴⁷

This explication was intended to buttress a point of serious practical weakness linked to the problem of discernment: the reluctance of persons to report to inquisitors or even to consider as threats heretics who appeared to be of great piety or even sanctity. As stubbornness was inherent in “heresy” (Humbert noted that “error does not make a heretic, but obstinacy”), often nothing worked to extirpate heresy except “their capture.” The inquisitor was then to make a direct, plaintive appeal for cooperation: “I beg you all, that faithfully you all should help me to find and seize them, for which purpose I was sent.” Listeners were reminded that zeal for the faith, the available indulgence, and fear of excommunication should all be incentives for their assistance. Those inclined to underestimate the spiritual threat of these little foxes spoiling the vines should remember a more accessible and homely danger. “Foxes craftily run about at night through different places to seize hens—so heretics hide themselves to seize souls.”⁴⁸ In this initial sermon, then, the inquisitor was to confront and to resolve the problem of discernment by reminding its listeners of the Bible’s many examples of evil costumed as good, which are familiar to us through other inquisitorial texts. These citations were embedded within language that frankly branded heresy not as error, but as obstinate spiritual sabotage; heretics served Satan, resembled the Antichrist, in their wish deceptively to lure the faithful into falsity. The public reading of commissions established inquisitors’ literal authority, and that authority was to be used to distinguish false piety from true.

Humbert (and inquisitors following this model in practice) presumably hoped that the investigations following this introductory sermon would benefit from its appeals for cooperation and explanation of why its listeners should cooperate. Yet Humbert’s second model sermon, for the preaching that began a sentencing *sermo generalis*, demonstrates that the earlier sermon’s attempt to instruct the audience on the diabolic evil of seemingly pious heretics often failed:

At the condemnation of heretics, when sentence is given against them, people are wont to be gathered publicly, and because there are many who are moved by a certain false piety concerning them, and judge the church to be excessively cruel toward them, it is expedient to show in a public sermon why the church inquires about heretics more diligently than other sinners, why it punishes them more gravely, and why it receives them to penance with more difficulty.⁴⁹

The inquisitor was then to explain why, precisely, this was the case, and here again biblical texts were cited as support. In a more cursory fashion than in the introductory sermon, the inquisitor was to reiterate why heresy was worse than other sins. Again, the matter was not only that they were “murderers” and “robbers” of the faith, but also that this destruction was carried out under the guise of piety (2 Timothy 3:5; 1 John 2:26). Had not Paul himself, in a model of harsh punishment, “handed over to Satan” two Christians who “had made a shipwreck of their faith” (1 Timothy 1:19–20)? Inquisitors simply followed his model and did the same, always aware that “hardly anyone is truly converted.” More explicitly, the inquisitor was to quote in the sermon Deuteronomy 17:2–5, in which God instructed the Israelites that if they heard of idolaters, transgressors, and “evildoers,” “you shall inquire diligently.” If the person was found guilty, he or she should be stoned to death. The Vulgate phrase is *inquisieris diligenter*, and earlier in this sermon the preacher was to use *diligentior inquisitio* to describe his own investigation into heresy that had just concluded. (“Inquire diligently” was commonly used to describe all kinds of *inquisitiones*, such as the confessor’s conversation with a penitent.) Of course, while the sermon as preached would not use Latin, we might expect the repetition to be preserved in the vernacular, insisting on inquisitorial investigation as biblical mandate.

Again, the converse of this heretical evil (discovered and punished on earth by divine command) was the godly justice of inquisition; the sad restraint with which inquisitors performed this grievous duty; the ultimate benefit that the penance imposed at the *sermo generalis*, faithfully fulfilled, would save the “worse” sinner’s soul. The inquisitor was to offer in this sermon another, remarkable, direct appeal to the audience:

Let it be known to all of you that we, because of certain infamy and probable suspicions, came to this place to inquire about heretics . . .

and proceeding according to the order of the law, we found certain things which, if we could pass them by with good conscience, we would gladly do so. But because the counsel of many wise men, which we had, says that we cannot do this, it is fitting that we proceed to certain punishments, nevertheless temperate according to their counsel. We beg God, and we beg you, that you should beg him together with me, that from the gift of his grace he should make it that those to be punished bear so patiently the punishments that we propose to impose upon them (at the demand of justice, nevertheless with grief), that it might redound to their salvation. Because of this we impose such a punishment.⁵⁰

This final sermon of an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, then, strove both to assert that the authority to read and to interpret Christian piety rightly belonged to the Roman church, and also to perform that task of interpretation before a likely skeptical audience. It sought to persuade its hearers to define heretics as most serious sinners—a definition that inquisitors would themselves make here in imposing sentences—and thus to perform a complementary task: recasting these punishments not as “cruelty,” as they may outwardly appear, but as benevolent penance that reconciled them to God for their salvation. Neither “the pious” nor “punishments” were quite what they seemed on the surface, and it was the inquisitorial office to define both, always with “the gift of God’s grace.” The two sermons in an *inquisitio* for which Humbert of Romans provided models were then a true bookending; at the start was the public assertion of authority not only to act but also to discern, and at the end the insistence that discernment had properly and reliably taken place through *inquisitio*, harmonious with God through exposition of the Bible.

Circa 1323, Bernard Gui advised fellow inquisitors in his manual, *Practica inquisitionis*, that the preaching at the *sermo generalis* be “brief, because of the great length of things to be done.”⁵¹ But Humbert’s models and their preoccupation with confronting the problem of discernment imply that those other “things to be done”—imposing sentences upon the living and dead—were precisely why the inquisitor needed to take such care in preaching. He needed to persuade Christians, at the most crucial moments when inquisition subjected “apostates” to its discipline, why this was necessary in terms of God’s true community, in which divine punishment was inescapable. He must per-

suaude them to see inquisition as salvific reorientation rather than as harsh cruelty. While we emphatically cannot depend upon it to show preaching's genuine success, the inquisitorial testimony in 1325 of Amada Orlach, from Lodève in southern France, at least demonstrates how inquisitors wished the strategy to work. She testified in Carcassonne that she had once believed Beguins, lay adherents of the Spiritual Franciscans, to be good and pious, but

finally after they were arrested by the people of the lord bishop and condemned as heretics, she believed them to be heretics. . . . Previously she had heard it preached that certain persons were to come who would seem to be sheep [but] would be evil people and heretics, and she believed that this had been said about them.⁵²

The sermons delivered in an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* conveyed some practical information about what would take place in the course of an inquisition. But they also tried energetically to redefine religious dissent not simply as a "choice," but more precisely as heretics' conscious, stubborn choice to apostasize, abandoning God's truth and embracing error, and to lure to hell true Christians fooled by their guises of Christian piety. They were foxes, wolves, pseudoprophets, antichrists: the Bible had spoken of their kind in both Old and New Testaments, and Paul had conducted his own "diligent inquisitions." In this sense, there was nothing new under the sun. In 1305, a letter written by the inquisitor Geoffroy d'Ablis to his colleagues Jean de Faugoux and Gerard de Blomac demonstrated the perdurant force of the biblical allusions long deployed by Christian writers against heresy. Heretics were still the "little foxes of Samson" who despoiled "the vineyard of the Lord."⁵³ Even the fact that lay advocates of apostolic poverty had largely usurped the place of dualist "Cathars" did not demand an alteration in rhetoric; had not the point been that "diverse faces" were nevertheless bound at the tail? However, we must note the interpenetration of discursive timelessness with inquisitorial time. In these texts and sermons, we feel the grit of experience on the ground: diversity, reluctance, strident efforts at persuasion, recognition that it was inquisitors themselves who could appear "false," even slight "grief." In inquisitions, antihetical discourse more vexedly confronted the quarrels of discernment and agonistic sentiment. The intersection of preaching pastorate and inquisition attempted to characterize both heretics and inquisitors to audiences, and its application of the Dominicans' foundational preaching

against heresy is a key reason to examine explicitly the relationship of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* and Order of Preachers (and to avoid distinguishing too starkly between “pastoral” friars and repressive inquisitors). In addition, we see the breadth of instruction in diverse contexts, beyond inquisition proper, over what constituted heresy and why it was punished so severely. This breadth, however, contributed to the slipperiness of antiheretical discourse, whose “pseudochristians” were not so obvious, and which always had new circumstances with which to work.

The Sheep and the Wolves

According to Francesca de Musello’s testimony about the Dolcinite Bona, Bona had asked if she ever attended “the preaching of the inquisitor.” When Francesca said that she heard him “gladly and devotedly,” Bona exclaimed, “almost compassionately,” that Francesca was “so deceived . . . by believing those things that are preached by the inquisitor, since his preaching may be foreign to salvation.” Bona added that the inquisitor would attain “a great place in hell, because by preaching he drags so many with him to the road of perdition.” She later added that while she was concerned she might have spoken too frankly, and that Francesca might be “another Judas,” she spoke “from the compassion which I have for you, seeing you outside the road of salvation.”⁵⁴ Bona’s comments might be compared to the imagined heretics who told Moneta of Cremona that the Roman church’s diversity of religious orders denied Christianity’s one way of salvation, and also to Humbert of Romans’s anxiety about sentences. Both Bona and Humbert pitied those “dragged” onto the “road of perdition” by wolves clothed as sheep. To Bona, the inquisitor was the false Christian, spewing untruth claiming to be truth, seducing the innocent. While the antiheretical discourse of long heritage in the Christian church, adopted for high-medieval heresies, was potentially impotent in that it could be rejected outright by its receivers, there were also more subtle possibilities for its instability. The lessons delivered through inquisitors’ various avenues of instruction and claims of authority were not wholly bounded and monolithic. To some Christians, *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* itself seemed to prove true, with different referents, all of those ecclesiastical warnings about false piety: persons would come, and claim themselves to be good, and would instead be wicked. Of course, a simple reminder that antiheretical

discourse cannot be cleanly ascribed to churchmen and its rejection to the laity is that two thirteenth-century polemical texts were written by laymen: the *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* (c.1210–1216), attributed to a certain Georgius, and Salvo Burci's *Liber suprastella* (1235). More important, if we generally do not possess lay texts or sermons that speak of “pseudoapostles” in quite the same way as we have clerical ones, we do have records of resistance to inquisition and the explanations that accompanied it.⁵⁵

Throughout the first century of heresy inquisitions, we witness the very real violence against Dominican inquisitors and their religious communities into which resistance and contestation could bloom. James Given has discussed the various means, from silence to murder, by which individuals and communities resisted inquisitors' investigations into their souls.⁵⁶ What we will emphasize here is how this contestation involved lay Christians' assumption of the generally ecclesiastical, and more narrowly inquisitorial, rhetoric of heresy as false piety and wickedness, and of both earthly and divine violence as consequent punishment. This violence may be the best instance of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* as conversation over the Christian faith that took place on a frequency below “heresy and orthodoxy,” the working out of old and new. The various instances of anti-inquisitorial violence surely interacted with local, disparate circumstances, and had definite stimuli in various social and political grievances. But just as we would argue that inquisitors' Christian spiritual geography shaped their conceptions of community, leadership, and justice, we should apply this argument as well to medieval Christians who agitated against inquisition. The fact that violence was inconsistent—inquisitions more often took place calmly without it—underscores that the matter is not “violence against inquisition” per se.⁵⁷ It is exactly that inconsistency, the particular circumstances and judgments that spurred riots and attacks, that is significant. Here we view from a different angle the vexatious problem of discernment that haunted inquisition (who are the sheep? who are the wolves?), and also more especially the laity's acceptance of inquisitorial rhetoric and imagery, even as it aggressively reserved for itself something denied it by the Roman church: the right to form those identifications. We see not just that this discourse dropped down to a more complicated substratal level below “acceptance versus rejection,” but also then its negotiations over Christian cosmography, the alignment of biblical and theological models with present reality.

Violence in Southern France and Italy

Let us summarize briefly the major incidents of anti-inquisitorial resistance that involved Dominican inquisitors between 1231 and 1331. Attacks upon inquisitors, their supporters, and their religious communities in the towns of Albi, Toulouse, and Narbonne in the 1230s show the quickness of resistance and the office's difficult establishment in Languedoc.⁵⁸ The Albi incident took place on June 15, 1234; after the inquisitor Arnaud Cathala ordered the exhumation and postmortem burning of a supposed heretic named Boissène, he was seized and beaten by a large crowd.⁵⁹ In Toulouse in 1235, we see how anger against inquisitors spread to their communities. According to the chronicler and inquisitor Guillaume Pelhisson, after Guillaume Arnaud's exhumation and burnings of the dead, "all the city was moved and stirred up against the friars because of inquisition." The town's consuls agreed that no one should "give, sell, or do anything of good to the Friars Preachers in any way." Even after Guillaume Arnaud left town, the citizens harrassed the remaining Dominicans and drove them from Toulouse a month later; it is telling that the handful of ill and elderly friars who were allowed to remain in Toulouse were ejected as soon as possible.⁶⁰ The mob violence and civil strife in Narbonne, which began in 1234 after the Dominican inquisitor known only as Friar Ferrier attempted to arrest a suspect, lasted until 1236 and was focused on Ferrier, Archbishop Pierre Amiel, and again the order's local community. After Ferrier charged the *bourg* with heresy, a mob went directly to the Dominican house and sacked it.⁶¹

Yet the violence occurring later than these incidents of the 1230s indicates that they were not merely an instinctive response to the new office of inquisition nor the result of lingering hostility and tensions after the end of the Albigensian Crusade in 1229. The most important and protracted example is the tumult against inquisitions in Albi and Carcassonne that lasted from the mid-1280s to the early 1300s, studied in depth by Alan Friedlander. These protests centered around charges of inquisitors' rank greed, corruption of records, irresponsible torture, and conscious punishment of the innocent. An early sally occurred in 1284, when, fearful of the inquisitor Jean Galand and recent testimony inculcating several citizens, some prominent men in Carcassonne plotted to steal inquisitorial registers.⁶² After this plan failed, a subsequent appeal to Rome and to the Dominican prior in Paris charged the inquisitor with diverging from the lawful, traditional procedure of the office and of his pred-

ecessors. Jean unfairly prosecuted “Catholic and religious persons” in a town that was faithful and orthodox in its piety, charity, liturgy, and in “expelling all heretical pravity.” The doleful result was that “justice completely perishes, and iniquity rules.”⁶³ After what were perceived to be similar outrages by the inquisitor Nicholas d’Abbeville, two citizens of Carcassonne involved in the register plot led demonstrations against inquisitions that began in 1295. After Nicholas excommunicated the *bourg*, the town’s consuls capitulated in 1299, and a formal reconciliation was prepared.⁶⁴ Nicholas soon conducted a series of trials in collusion with the unpopular bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet, in which several leading citizens of that town were condemned. Heated opposition again arose in Carcassonne, and the Franciscan friar Bernard Délicieux assumed leadership of the anti-inquisitorial movement.⁶⁵ Bernard Délicieux helped Albi’s citizens appeal directly in 1301 to King Philip IV, but Philip’s subsequent restrictions on the bishop and the inquisitors, including a suspension of inquisitor Foulques de Saint-Georges, did not prevent further violence.⁶⁶ Townspeople cursed and attacked local Dominicans, forcibly ejecting them from Albi’s churches in 1302. After a sermon in Carcassonne in 1303 at which Bernard Délicieux announced that according to the reconciliation of 1299, all the citizens were admitted heretics, a large crowd rioted and a mob stormed the inquisitorial prison, forcibly freeing persons they believed were incarcerated unjustly. Although the new inquisitor, Geoffroy d’Ablis, denied that the agreement named all townspeople as abjured heretics, more violence followed, including attacks on the order’s local house. However, this anti-inquisitorial movement faltered with the accession of a Dominican pope, Benedict XI, and a related shift in Philip IV’s eagerness to curb inquisitorial and episcopal efforts against supposed heretics. After a failed plot to usurp the king’s authority in Carcassonne, the consequent hanging of fifteen consuls in 1305, and Bernard Délicieux’s imprisonment by the Franciscans, the extended uprising ended.⁶⁷

The sort of “elided” violence (from Dominican inquisitor to Dominican order) experienced by Toulouse, Narbonne, Albi, and Carcassonne occurred in Italy as well. In Parma in 1279, a mob opposed to Florio da Vicenza’s condemnation to the stake of two women, Elena and Tedesca, supposedly recalcitrant members of the Apostolic Brethren, sacked the Dominican convent in Parma and killed an elderly friar, Jacopo da Ferrara. The Dominicans escaped to convents in nearby towns.⁶⁸ Another, later, example from Italy better discloses the sentiments underlying such violence. In Bologna in 1299,

inquisitor Guido of Vicenza handed over the suspected Cathars Bompietro and Giuliano to the secular arm for burning, together with the remains of a supposedly relapsed dead heretic. Many of their fellow citizens were enraged by the arrests and executions of Bompietro and Giuliano, not only because they believed firmly in the men's innocence, but also because Guido withheld the eucharist that Bompietro requested at his execution. Those present at the men's condemnation and burning were visibly upset, and some members of the crowd (by one estimate, more than three hundred people representing both sexes and all social classes) who witnessed the burning adopted their own methods of violence, including throwing rocks, drawing weapons, and threatening both the inquisitors and the local Dominican house.⁶⁹

As such contestation and violence constituted the obstruction of the inquisitorial office, and thus fell within inquisitorial jurisdiction, we may hear its actors explain their motivations, and try to reconstruct their imaginative context for violence. In Bologna, several witnesses testified about their own and others' behavior before Guido himself soon after the deaths. Bernard Délicieux's sensational episcopal trial in 1319 for a rash of charges that included impeding and defaming the inquisition, a failed plot to strip Philip IV of his authority over Carcassonne, and the murder of Pope Benedict XI through poison and black magic, featured numerous lay witnesses testifying about the protests in Languedoc. As John Arnold has recently reminded us, this testimony is not transparent, and the historian errs in too confidently extracting "lay belief" and ignoring contexts of power. But although these formal explanations were undoubtedly colored by, among other dynamics, their intimidating context, admission of these acts, desires, and words hardly benefited these witnesses, more strongly implying their veracity. Moreover, what we hear echoes inquisition's own sketches of heresy, wickedness, sin, and punishment.

Heretics and Antichrists

James Given, Carol Lansing, and Alan Friedlander have analyzed the above violence in terms of political and social upheaval, and distaste for inquisition's intrusive and repressive activities and claims. We might suggest also its fundamentally religious character by attending to the Christian imagistic energy that drove this violence, and specifically its resemblances to an inquisitorial

discourse of heresy. All these instances of violence illustrate, among however much rage, that they were founded upon the reasoned conviction that inquisitorial work was not only intrusive, but also unjust. And the later incidents circa 1300 also demonstrate greater clarity, refinement, and complexity of a Christian logic of lay violence against inquisition: that is, the more explicit location of that intrusive injustice within heresy's traditional frame of impious sin, devious falsity, and willful evil. We witness how lay mood could accelerate neatly from the opinion that an inquisitor's particular sentence was unjust, to a judgment of his "evil," and thence to the conclusion that violence was a deserved response toward both inquisitor and his community. We might say that lay violence followed inquisition's procedural tracks: first, identification and judgment; second, punishment resulting from the conclusion that the sinner, the "enemy of God," was serious or incorrigible. This could well result from the induration of the rhetoric presented by inquisition (and other media) since the 1230s, itself a specialized heir of the spiritual geography of sin, evil, and punishment furnished to laypeople throughout all manifestations of medieval Christianity. Lay Christians had long been steeped in a discourse of heresy and its wickedness, but the core matters of contestation and discernment prompted something other than simple agreement or rejection.

In the Bologna case, testimony after the riot in 1299 indicates that many citizens believed that the inquisitor's actions, the condemnation of pious Christians, transcended mere injustice. They also inverted the inquisitor's procedural identifications of good and evil, proving Guido and his colleagues to be the deviants, the enemies of the faithful, the transgressors of divine order: in sum, heretics. Significantly, members of the Dominican community were enveloped in this condemnation, a kind of *fautores hereticorum* who deserved their own punishment for their own style of guilt. One Salvitti had said that "the inquisitor and the brothers were greater heretics than Bompietro."⁷⁰ Others echoed the charge that the inquisitor and his colleagues were greater heretics, including Paolo Trintinelli, who added that they were also "more excommunicate than Bompietro." By prosecuting and condemning the two men, the inquisitor proved himself to be outside of God's community rather than, as inquisitorial discourse asserted, its divinely appointed guardian and implementer of justice. Some who objected to these executions went further, enlisting inquisitors in the diabolical company to which "heretics" had long been assigned by the Roman church. According to one Johanna, "the inquisitor was an antichrist" because of sexual depravity; Bompietro was burned

because his sister refused to become Guido's lover. Many agreed solely on the grounds of the putatively cruel prosecution of good Christians that "the inquisitor is a devil" or "antichrist, who came to kill people."⁷¹ And many citizens of Bologna believed (as an inquisitor would) that this perceived sin, deviation, recalcitrance, and diabolism should be corrected with scourging violence. Testimony linked together the above charges of heresy and evil with the riot that took place at the burning. Salvitti, who charged the inquisitor with heresy, "said many threatening words against the inquisitor, to the danger of his person." One Chechola neatly replicated inquisition's tripartite vision of earthly and divine justice, in which intractable sin meant evil, which in turn meant punishment: "it was a great sin to kill Bompietro," "that inquisitor is a devil," and "that inquisitor was more worthy to be burned than Bompietro." Similarly, one Bolnexa observed that "the inquisitor should undergo the death that [Bompietro and Giuliano] did, if he acted contrary to justice."⁷² And it was because the "heresy" extended to the community housing Guido and his inquisitorial activity that violence should extend there as well. According to Matteo Antonio Peloxii, both inquisitor and his brethren "were more worthy of death than Bompietro." Jacopo Bencevennis and one Phillippo admitted that they had "shouted loudly, 'Go die, inquisitor and friars.'" One woman "wished that the people of Bologna would come to the house of the friars and destroy [it]," while others noted that there was cogent precedent for such violence: "the house of the Friars Preachers ought to be burned, as had happened at Parma."⁷³

Lansing has interpreted such naming as the result of laypeople's recognition of "the political uses of heresy charges."⁷⁴ But we might consider this as less canny and more expressively Christian, and even as "inquisitorial." Who, after all, opposes and destroys "good Christians"? Humbert of Romans, and his Dominican colleagues appointed as inquisitors, would quickly answer "heretics" and "antichrists," punished with violence for their enmity and recalcitrance. This dynamic is clearer if we compare the Bologna riot to its contemporary uprisings in southern France. Although the Languedoc movement's leader, Bernard Délicieux, was a Franciscan and not a layman, we might see him as a kind of mirror image of an inquisitor communicating to laypeople the Roman church's discourse of heresy and discernment. During the protests, Bernard used some familiar imagery to present the metaphysical dimension of this conflict, in which inquisitorial abuses were ultimately bellicose strikes by the devil against God's faith. In the riotous Carcassonne ser-

mon in 1303, Bernard recounted an *exemplum* in which two butchers regularly pilfered rams grazing in a beautiful meadow, until the animals determined to use their horns to attack the marauders. Bernard helpfully glossed the text for the congregation: the meadow was Carcassonne, “green through the Roman Catholic faith”; the rams were its citizens. Finally, there were the “butchers, that is, inquisitors.”⁷⁵ The same sermon exhorted the “good gardener” to weed out the “wicked grasses” from among the good. One listener, Guilhelmus Rabaudi, later reported the sermon language as “the wicked grasses were to be rooted out from the garden by the good gardener, so that they could not suffocate the good grasses,” while Bernard Trevas was more detailed: “the wicked grasses were to be rooted out by the good gardener, and he called the wicked grasses certain men from the *bourg* of Carcassonne who commonly were thought to support the office of inquisition.”⁷⁶ This, of course, was Bernard’s clever application of the parable of the wheat and the tares, and it was not the only traditional biblical metaphor for heresy he deployed against inquisition. One citizen of Carcassonne, Petrus Garsie, heard Bernard warning the congregation in another sermon that

“The time has come about which it is written that there would come certain people dressed in clothing in the likeness of sheep, having within the hearts of wolves, eating and devouring people.” . . . The witness believ[ed] that friar Bernard meant by these words, that is, by “devouring wolves,” inquisitors and those favoring the office of inquisition.⁷⁷

The translation of traditional antiheretical rhetoric is clear. Bernard’s *exemplum* of the rams seized by butchers even recalled Humbert of Romans’s advice that preaching inquisitors inform their listeners that heretics resembled the foxes who craftily stole their chickens at night, itself a homier version of the common comparison of heretics to the little foxes who spoiled the vines. According to Bernard Délicieux, inquisitors were those who sought to ensnare the faithful, masking with phantasmatic goodness their own “depravity” (as Bernard described it in a sermon, alluding however intentionally to the ubiquitous “inquisitor of heretical depravity”).⁷⁸

To identify and to punish the false and the “depraved,” the “enemies of God,” was to serve as a kind of inquisitor, appointed not by the pope but by God himself. While Bernard was a cleric, we witness here this imagery’s

persuasive power among the laity, for whom it provided a motor for violence. They did the work of glossing, as we see with Petrus Garsie, choosing to understand “wolves” and “evil grasses” as inquisitors and friars, against whom punitive violence indeed directly followed. Wolves, sheep, wheat, tares: here we see not so much ambiguity in the text’s meaning (does this parable demand tolerance or intolerance?) but rather ambiguity in what it signified. This was neither a rejection of inquisition and punishment and an embrace of heresy on the one hand, nor the wholesale absorption of inquisitors’ assertions about heretics (collectively or individually) on the other. Nor was it the case that inquisitors religiously named and embraced violent judgment, while their lay opponents merely wielded a negative-value violence in desperate resistance. We may say that those citizens who maintained that inquisitors and their brethren sinned against good Christians, against God, and allied themselves with the devil—and saw violence as rightful response—displayed fundamental agreement with inquisition’s sketch of heresy and punishment, even while resisting inquisitors’ insistence that they alone were its conduits. Bona pitied Francesca because she believed she had wandered into error, led wickedly by seductive speech that was itself a kind of insanity.

Moreover, the several Beguins sentenced by Bernard Gui in the early fourteenth century indicate that the apocalyptic worldview adopted by the Spiritual Franciscans from the writings of Joachim of Fiore had settled itself onto the circumstances of heresy inquisitions, where the pope was an “antichrist” and inquisitors were the heretics who had wandered into error.⁷⁹ Peire Morier, a Beguin from Belpèch sentenced in 1322, adopted traditional antiheretical rhetoric in calling John XXII a “rapacious wolf.” Prelates and inquisitors were not bound to obey the pope in his commands that they persecute Franciscan tertiaries; consequently, if they chose to do so, they were heretics and sinned mortally, “and unless they repent, they will be damned.” Interestingly, several Beguins apparently introduced the element of pertinacity, a necessary ingredient in determining heretical guilt, into their charges against inquisitors: to Raimon d’Antusan, Guilhem Ros, and Peire Tort, inquisitors “were heretics if they pertinaciously persevered in this.” Heresy remained willful deviation from the true faith: the pope was a heretic “because he went against the gospel of Christ and condemned the life of Christ.”⁸⁰ These Beguins were not accused of violence against the inquisition, but they nevertheless indicate the influence of a Christian spiritual geography of diabolism, heresy, and punishment, in which those who “pertinaciously” denied

or attacked the “gospel of Christ” eventually suffered. The insistent decades of inquisitorial and other clerical arguments that the “worse” sinners had come—that they would claim to be good and to bear the true faith, but instead would be truly wicked—seem to have found some ironic, and to inquisitors unbridled, resonance. Punishing “heretics” who were enemies of God was not in itself illegitimate, unjust, or irreligious; the discord lay, rather, as it always did, in defining Christians and “antichrists.”

Christianity’s spiritual landscape had unique ramifications for inquisitors’ understandings of their work. It placed the “sin” of heresy against the backdrop of eternal, divine punishment; stubborn heretics, the “enemies of God,” wickedly “persecute” the Roman church in their devilish apostasy from divine truth; the representatives of that truth on earth gloriously persecute those “enemies.” And as the Bible putatively showed, this had long been the case. So few things were as they seemed. Satan was costumed as an angel of light; wolves wore sheep’s clothing, both pseudoprophets and prophets spat out words of faith that sounded so much alike. And to choose wrongly, as a layperson so easily might, was to stumble onto the parlous path to hell after a wicked companion redirected one’s steps away from the road to paradise. Yet inquisitors argued that all the country in which one confusedly walked was still God’s own. They insisted that stubborn heresy was not only simple choice, and would bring not only earthly shame and earthly punishment. They argued as well that Roman clerics alone provided infallible direction, discerning true from false and good from evil. The matter of discerning between God’s truth and the devil’s falsehood clothed as truth, and lay resistance to inquisitors’ methods of, and conclusions to, that process, would long haunt inquisitorial practice.

Yet we have glimpsed here, crucially related to that problem of discernment, some muddiness in the ecclesiastical stream, flowing from currents in the early church and cresting before the Albigensian Crusade, that many scholars have analyzed as identifying and castigating “heresy” in schematic, stereotypical, or essentialist terms. Quite simply, the experience of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* beginning in the 1230s that was dominated by Dominicans (who continued their order’s foundational task of preaching against heresy) demonstrates several complicating factors. Greater inquisitorial attention to less committed persons, which we will examine further below, does not quite show the poor tailoring of “difference” to flat narratives. More important, it

was clear in practice that lay resistance threw up various challenges, forcing new kinds of ecclesiastical defenses and articulations that did not exactly replicate the antiheretical discourse of the past. Most richly, we see fundamentally in the inquisitorial encounter a troubled conversation about Christian authority, interpretation, alliances, and justice, in which the opposition was not exactly as we might expect. Geoffroy d'Ablis's frail response to Bernard Délicieux's incendiary charges about the Carcassonne reconciliation insisted that he and his successors alone enjoyed the "power of interpreting" inquisitorial decisions and texts.⁸¹ This boast, a small version of inquisitors' general claims to discern indubitably between true and false piety and akin to claims that only the Roman church "owned" the Bible, was wishful thinking. Lay Christians who witnessed inquisitions and punishments, heard sermons and learned about sin in their parish churches, asserted the power to interpret and to gloss what they were so often told about heresy, to apply a Christian cosmography of evil, sin, and seduction to their own towns, neighbors, visitors, and selves. Resistance was then not "inquisitors versus laity," but something more complex; some language and lessons might "take," but not arguments about the Roman church's authoritative discernment. How could it be so, when inquisitors themselves appeared to wear the cheap sheepskin of the wolves about whom they so ominously warned? Laypeople may often have disliked or sought to renovate the punitive structure freshly built by inquisitors from antique materials. But it is something for us to realize that many of them nevertheless dwelt in it. This transmits, then, the contentious conversation about the Christian faith, flavored both by extant discourse and by novel experience, that was inquisition. However, the discourse that slipped its leash then required even more restraint by those who claimed themselves its masters. As we will see below, inquisitors finally enjoyed the greater power of weighing down their own interpretations of who were wolves, and who were sheep, with the greater dark ballast of force.

CHAPTER 2

Holy Inquisitors

ACCORDING TO A brief biography of Bernard Gui, credited to his nephew Pierre Gui, that famous inquisitor performed two miracles during his lifetime. Pierre claimed that when Bernard visited the papal court in Avignon in 1318 in his capacity as procurator general of the order (still holding his inquisitorial post), he cured the insomnia of Arnaldus Borgueti, inquisitor of Barcelona and provincial prior of Aragon, who was at the curia to promote the canonization of Raymond of Peñafort. Arnaldus, unable to sleep because of the summer's heat, was "attracted by the holy life of the aforesaid man of God, and having conceived hope of his merits, devoutly and humbly . . . begged him that by his devotion and intercession he might heal him." After Bernard commanded "sleep to return to the eyes of the inquisitor of Barcelona," Arnaldus "henceforth continually slept and rested sweetly." When, then, in the same week another friar, Guillermus de Gardaga of Bayonne, suffered from dysentery, the grateful Arnaldus recommended Bernard Gui's intercession. Bernard modestly demurred, but then consented; Pierre Gui reported that he had himself heard Guillermus testify to the prayer's success in curing his illness. After Arnaldus and Guillermus announced these two "signs and prodigies," a member of the curia, Petrus Bernardi of Bayonne, "jokingly" and wittily remarked that "the Order of Preachers pursued the canonization of dead brothers needlessly, because it could canonize a living saint."¹

We may readily understand why Petrus cracked such a joke, and even perceive its sarcasm. Bernard Gui's "signs and prodigies" are frankly less than spectacular, especially when we consider the variety and magnitude of miraculous

tales that arise from the copious hagiography of the Middle Ages. While Pierre Gui gamely offered these miracles as evidence for his uncle's sanctity, no one else seems to have concurred, and these reports did not result in a cult of St. Bernard Gui. However, Pierre's ascription of thaumaturgical power to his uncle illustrates for us one plain reconciliation of holiness and heresy inquisitions. And his ambitious hope was not so unusual, as by the time that Bernard's nephew composed his *vita* in the mid-fourteenth century, the inquisitor saint was a not unfamiliar image in the Roman church. Some inquisitors were more successful than Bernard Gui, and were indeed acclaimed as saints by their order and cult, or formally canonized. To those who promoted these men as founts of holy power, inquisition could itself be the source of that sanctity—as in slain inquisitors defined as “martyrs”—or could merely be compatible with it. And the very simplicity of the miracles credited to the then-inquisitor Bernard Gui gestures toward the ease with which inquisition and holiness could be companions.

In this chapter, we will consider the internal and external force of Dominican inquisitors proclaimed as saints, their place in inquisition's contentious conversation about what was truly Christian, and what constituted holiness in that conversation. The circumstances of inquisition here too generated a circular, productive body of meanings, as inquisition created resistance that in turn allowed inquisitors and colleagues to ponder and to craft further Christian locations for this new work. First, we see in inquisitor saints a reflected mentality risen from the long ecclesiastical discourse about heresy and its opposition, applied to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, as some clerics who already defined inquisition as a work *pro fide*, a godly strike against wickedness and individual sin, concluded syllogistically that this commitment to eradicating heresy could mesh neatly with, or flower into, holiness. This in turn further sacralized inquisition; as models of holiness that firmly allied it with that work, these inquisitor saints solidified the place of inquisition within a mission of saving souls and establishing obedient community, portraying it as a pious enterprise that enjoyed the greatest divine approbation. God had indeed bestowed his *virtus* upon the particularly deserving agents of this worldly manifestation of the cosmic battle between good and evil.² The inquisitor could then be a conduit not simply of the papal power to bind and loose, but also of miraculous divine power, exaggerating their already-claimed continuity. The sanctity putatively generated by inquisition positioned the office itself as a forum for demonstrations of holy power; through miracles, God

acted as inquisitor and solved problems of discernment, identifying indubitably and punishing. All Christian saints shattered the always brittle divide between living and dead; here, that shattering confirmed something promoted throughout inquisition, namely, the timeless identity of earthly justice and divine. These saints could encourage those Dominicans who were to undertake the contentious work of inquisition, sometimes so risky it had produced saintly “martyrs” in the first place. As Aviad Kleinberg has reminded us, medieval sanctity was not static or automatic, but could be interpreted flexibly, rejected, or consciously constructed in light of extant models.³ In addition, then, to examining how flexible interpretations of sanctity and community agreement constructed the identity of the saint, we should also remember that the agreement to acknowledge certain persons as holy, and the precise model of sanctity chosen, reflected and influenced the community’s identity. The inclusion of inquisition within medieval models of holiness—particularly the task of the Dominican order, as we will see—and the particular ways in which inquisition and sanctity were held to interrelate, disclose the ideals and aims of those who fashioned and celebrated those models.

Second, inquisitor saints turned this model of holiness outward. As a crucial component of lay devotion, sanctity could be an efficient vehicle for disseminating the Christian valences of spiritual discipline generally, and of heresy inquisitions specifically, to the laity. Transmitting lessons of inquisition’s salvific piety, holy inquisitors were themselves a version of Humbert of Romans’s explicative and assertive model sermons. We need not belabor here the powerful role of devotion to saints in medieval piety. From childbirth to death (and beyond), a number of saints, selected by the faithful for various reasons, localized divine power, offered tools of assistance and intercession, and served as targets of love. What did it mean for church and order to present an inquisitor as a saint: not only a person formally canonized and officially named, but also a closer locus of God’s presence, a figure to be prayed to, to light a candle for, to ask for help in illness or trouble? Rather than presenting a stark opposition of natural piety and imposed orthodoxy, this illustrates church and laity’s more complicated negotiations of Christian devotion—the work both of inquisition and of inquisitor saints. Again, the attempted harnessing to lay piety of the Christian meanings of inquisition borne and cultivated by Dominican inquisitors and colleagues occurred amid contestation, which included skepticism both about inquisition’s unerring righteousness and, productively, about the sanctity of slain inquisitors themselves. Consequently, the

dynamics of inquisitorial sanctity were almost dizzyingly cyclical: the saint sacralized the work that had sacralized him; resistance produced the martyr-saint who generated resistance, offering further opportunities to elucidate and shape inquisition's Christian meanings. This warns us against presuming that public ecclesiastical assertions about inquisition were wholly strategic tactics for assuaging dislike; a claim like that of an inquisitor's holiness was certainly useful, but also believable in terms of the spiritual geography envisioned by Dominicans' medieval Christianity. And lay acquiescence was not the only valuable contributor to inquisition's success; disagreement and contestation offered their own opportunities for power.⁴ Both the success and failure of these cults tell us something about inquisition and sanctity on the ground. The troubled matter of discernment—who is holy, and why?—that surrounded inquisitorial practice here led to a contested conversation about the nuances and character of the Christian faith—can inquisitors be saints?—that touched laypeople particularly closely, perhaps, at this point of warm devotion.

Contestation and Canonization

Contestation appears in the very violence that sometimes led to inquisitorial deaths. The inquisitors claimed as saints in the later Middle Ages were overwhelmingly members of the Dominican order—an unsurprising representation, given these friars' dominant role as inquisitorial personnel. They were also overwhelmingly claimed as such because they were killed by opponents to their work. As we have already seen, heresy inquisitions saw violence inflicted upon inquisitors as well as by them. Here, violent resistance served an elemental purpose in making inquisition's religious meanings, as an inquisitor's killing could be placed explicitly within the grid of Christian martyrdom, his "witnessing to the faith" to death. Contestation, however, continued to play a role in the sustainability of a saint, in his canonization and cult.

Heralded saints, of course, did not necessarily or rapidly become canonized saints. André Vauchez has explored the papacy's attempts throughout the later Middle Ages to establish authority over the number and identity of saints; the process of canonization had been formalized by the time of the first Dominican inquisitorial commissions in the 1230s.⁵ Its solidification rendered it difficult to establish widely and indisputably the status of a "saint" without

papal approval, and complaints could follow the suspicion that a religious order blithely persisted in venerating its illegitimate “saints.”⁶ More pertinent to the fate of dead inquisitors, the papacy with extreme rarity canonized martyrs from the thirteenth century on, even though the mendicant orders’ enthusiastic activities among heretics and non-Christians in the east meant that there were qualified applicants.⁷ This papal reluctance is certainly significant in considering the success of images of inquisitorial sanctity, as are the other factors that could create or cripple support for any cult. Slain inquisitors were subject to as many, or rather more, of the complexities of establishing a saint as other candidates, and were plunged into the same context of any canonization, which wrestled with the contingencies, benefits, evidence, and popularity of any proposed saint. Despite the efforts of many Dominican colleagues to promote them as such, most of the putative inquisitorial *sancti* were never formally canonized by the papacy. The inquisitors to whom their brethren credited varying degrees of holiness indicate the divergent fates possible for potential saints, and also the order’s occasional readiness to claim sanctity regardless of papal authentication.

The first Dominican instance of this putative “witnessing to the faith” was the inquisitor Guillaume Arnaud and his colleagues, killed at Avignonet in southern France in 1242.⁸ The Avignonet “martyrs” illustrate the Order of Preachers’ tenacity in celebrating the supposed sanctity of its slain inquisitors and seeking their formal recognition, despite continued papal reluctance or indifference.⁹ Guillaume Arnaud had been commissioned as inquisitor in Toulouse in 1233, and soon experienced the potent force of local opposition to inquisitorial activity; his offensive in 1235 against several prominent citizens led to his expulsion and that of the entire Dominican community. After their return, both his activity, and antipathy to it, revived. Jean de Bernin, archbishop of Vienne and papal legate, assigned the Franciscan Stephen of St Thibéry to be Guillaume’s partner in an attempt to temper the Dominican’s inquisitorial zeal.¹⁰ After another suspension in 1238 (when Count Raymond VII of Toulouse complained to Gregory IX) and resumption in 1241, Guillaume, Stephen, and their support staff settled at Raymond VII’s chateau at Avignonet in 1242. On May 28, the party was ambushed and killed by a group tipped off by Raymond d’Alfaro, the count’s *bailli*. The killers took away souvenirs and boasted with great joy, naively believing that the inquisitors’ death meant the extinction of all inquisitions in their neighborhood.¹¹ The papal see was then vacant, but the cardinals wrote to the Dominican community in

Toulouse, reminding them that the order had been founded by Dominic in part to extinguish heresies, and condoling with the friars over the death of these “spiritual doctors” and “servants of God,” who were “made holy martyrs of Jesus Christ.”¹² When the papal *interregnum* ended with the election of Innocent IV in 1243, he soon endorsed these sentiments with *Inter alia desiderabilia*, addressed to the Dominican provincial prior and inquisitors of Provence, stating that “we firmly believe [that they are] associated in the fellowship of martyrs.”¹³ Nevertheless, Innocent appeared uninterested in their canonization, a reluctance due perhaps to Raymond VII’s potential utility as an ally in the papal-imperial dispute as well as the local hatred that prompted both suspensions and the attack.¹⁴ Nevertheless, despite the papacy’s perfunctory refusal to canonize the Avignonet inquisitors, the Order of Preachers with equal consistency asserted their sanctity. According to the early eighteenth-century Dominican Jean-Jacques Percin, particularly after Innocent IV’s bull these “martyrs” and their relics had been “held and honored” as holy by the order.¹⁵

Here we see resistance both causing a death and apparently obstructing canonization throughout the Middle Ages. However, with Peter of Verona, commonly called “Peter Martyr” after his canonization, order and papacy were in firmest agreement. Peter was the greatest success as an inquisitor saint, and the first member of the Order of Preachers to be canonized after Dominic in 1234. We have already sketched Peter’s early career, including preaching, disputing, and writing against heresy, in the previous chapter. When the death of Frederick II in 1250 provided Innocent IV with an opportunity to entrench heresy inquisitions more firmly in Italian cities, the pope formally commissioned Peter as inquisitor in Cremona on June 8, 1251, with *Misericors*, which complained of Frederick’s protection of heretics and commanded Peter and Vivianus of Bergamo to proceed energetically against the enemies of the faith. Peter would also serve as inquisitor in Milan and Como, where he was appointed prior of the Dominican house in 1251.¹⁶ A plot led by the “heretical” nobles Stefano Confanonerio, Guidoto de Sachella, and Jacobo della Clusa was formed to despatch both Peter and his colleague Raynier Sacconi, then inquisitor in Pavia. In April 1252, en route from Como to Milan with his *socius* Dominic, Peter was ambushed in a wood at Barlassina by Carino da Balsamo, who had been enlisted to commit the killing. Peter’s companion, who survived for a few days after the attack, piously reported that the inquisitor spoke the *Credo* before he died.¹⁷ The following month the pope sent condo-

lences to the Order of Preachers, meeting in Bologna during its yearly general chapter. Innocent formally requested the following August that the archbishop of Milan investigate any miracles performed by the recent “martyr.” An inquiry into the death, held at St. Eustorgio in Milan, was presided over by the unharmed Raynier Sacconi and Guido da Sesto, Peter’s replacements as inquisitor in Milan.¹⁸ Only eleven months after Peter’s death, Innocent IV canonized him in 1253 with *Magnis et crebris*. This bull broadcast reports of Peter’s pious life, his defense of the faith against its enemies, his desire for martyrdom, and the death that asserted orthodoxy to the last, all crowned and confirmed by the new saint’s miracles.¹⁹

Peter of Verona’s death came at an expedient time not only for papal politics that sought to entrench all forms of ecclesiastical authority in Italy, but also for the Order of Preachers. It corresponded to an intense and difficult period in which the solidity of Dominican position and identity faced numerous challenges. These included the well-known hostility to mendicant professors of the masters at the University of Paris, whose attempts to restrict the number and prominence of these instructors began in 1252 and did not cease until 1257, and diocesan clergy’s objections to mendicant preaching and pastoral care among their flocks.²⁰ Innocent IV, who so expeditiously canonized Peter “Martyr,” was no unfailing friend to the order; in the late 1240s he had suspended Dominican inquisitors in southern France, and in the summer of 1254 he withdrew his support for the Dominican masters’ position at the university. It was only with the succession in 1254 of Alexander IV that the order would receive more security from the papacy; Alexander reinstated papal support for the mendicants’ position at the university, and he strengthened the authority and independence of Dominican inquisitors in southern France as incentive for their return to duty there.²¹

One of the order’s responses to these troubles in the 1250s was the celebration of its holy and admirable exemplars, and the order’s new saint formed an important part of this articulation. The Dominicans aggressively encouraged the dissemination of Peter Martyr’s cult. At the general chapter in Milan in 1255, brothers were commanded to report previously unrecorded miracles of Dominic and Peter to the conventual priors at Bologna and Milan respectively.²² An encyclical letter sent from this chapter by Humbert of Romans, then master general (1254–1263), encouraged the brothers, despite all dangers and discomforts, to emulate the apostles in work among *schismatici christiani*, Jews, Muslims, and other unbelievers. Humbert lauded Peter’s death as a

manifestation of that ministry, insisting that God's favor for the order was demonstrated through the "unbelievable" number of heretical conversions "without violence" that followed the death.²³ When the order finalized its uniform liturgy in 1256, Peter's feast (April 29) kept the rare and privileged status of *totum duplex*.²⁴ The order's general chapter that year in Paris commanded that Peter's feast be celebrated everywhere in the order; images of the martyred inquisitor were to be painted in "appropriate places" in Dominican houses, and his name included in the order's calendar, litany, and martyrology. At this general chapter, relics of the recent saint were given to the community in Paris in the presence of King Louis IX, clergy, and "a copious multitude of people," which Humbert of Romans read as a sign that the order's recent "tribulations" were now diminishing.²⁵

Despite this reassurance, at the same chapter in 1256, Humbert commanded the order's priors to report miracles and events from the order that were "worthy of memory" and useful for edification. Gerard de Frachet, then provincial prior of Provence, was commissioned to arrange the "more praiseworthy" of these recollections into a compilation that could be distributed throughout the order. The resulting text, the *Vitae fratrum*, was crucial in forming and reflecting a Christian mentality of inquisition and, relatedly, Dominican identity. Humbert's prefatory letter to the text explained that its purpose was to illustrate how certain Dominicans had been inspired by Christ through the Holy Spirit, and to record for posterity the laudable effects of that inspiration in order to console and strengthen spiritually all the brothers.²⁶ This collection devoted the bulk of its chapter on Dominican martyrs to Peter of Verona and constituted the new saint's first hagiography. Peter's later successor as Dominican prior at Asti, Jacobus de Voragine, included Peter in his popular *Legenda aurea* (c.1263–1267), which the Dominican patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas Agni of Lentini, then used as a source for his *Vita sancti Petri Martyris*, which became the official life in 1276.²⁷ The general chapter that year commanded that this legend "compiled . . . at the request of the master of the order be kept in all the convents, and the provincial priors should be diligent about this." As with Dominic, subsequent chapters general made fresh calls for reports of new miracles; these were duly gathered and a collection disseminated.²⁸ The order's many promotions of Peter help us to see how inquisition was embedded within Dominican identity generally—even if most friars were not inquisitors—while also implying continued lay resistance to Peter's claimed holiness.

The sanctity of several other inquisitors was asserted by Dominicans between 1231 and 1331, but these, like the Avignonet “martyrs,” failed to garner formal canonization by the papacy. Pagano da Lecco, an inquisitor in Lombardy and friar of the convent at Como, was killed in 1277 in the area of Valtellina, reportedly at the instigation of the nobleman and “manifest heretic” Corrado di Venosta. (As we have seen in Chapter 1, Pagano’s companions included Anselm of Alexandria, author of *Tractatus de hereticis*.) Although Nicholas III’s *Ut orthodoxae fidei* (1279) opined that Pagano’s killing rendered Corrado a “blasphemer of his savior,” neither Nicholas nor his papal successors initiated canonization proceedings. Nevertheless, in 1278 the order had instructed the brothers to promote Pagano’s sanctity in their preaching—defining his death specifically as a “martyrdom”—and a local cult appears to have arisen.²⁹ The Iberian county of Urgell in Catalonia produced three inquisitor “martyrs”: Pons de Blanes in 1242, Bernard de Traversa in 1260, and Peter de la Cadireta, also prior of the Dominican house at Urgell, in 1277. None was ever canonized, but the Dominicans affixed to them the status of *beati*. Historians Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui credited “many miracles” to Pons, as Gerard de Frachet did for Bernard de Traversa.³⁰ Significantly, there is evidence for the saintly success of Bernard de Caux, who was no longer an inquisitor when he died of natural causes. With his partner Jean de St Pierre, Bernard was active at Agen and Cahors, and later in Toulouse and Carcassonne, from circa 1242 until his retirement in 1249. (We will encounter later their inquisitors’ manual, *Processus inquisitionis*.) Bernard was subsequently the founding prior of the Dominican house at Agen before his death in 1252. Gerard de Frachet’s *Vitae fratrum* praised this “hammer of heretics and consoler of the faithful, by whom, while still living, the Lord effected many miracles”; after Bernard’s death, several cures took place at his tomb. Promotion of these miracles, likely through the *Vitae fratrum* itself, appears to have spurred the cult. Bernard Gui reported in his *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae ordinis praedicatorum* that Bernard’s miraculous translation at Agen in 1281 was attended by a crush of lay devotees.³¹ We have already witnessed Pierre Gui’s belief in his uncle’s saintly power, and we might also note briefly the order’s long efforts to promote the canonization of Raymond of Peñafort, master general of the order and compiler of Gregory IX’s *Decretals*. Although Raymond was not himself an inquisitor, he compiled an inquisitor’s manual and was instrumental in implementing *inquisitiones* in Aragon.

The motives for celebrating inquisitorial sainthood may seem obvious. For example, Peter of Verona's strikingly swift canonization in 1253 has been explained as a way to revivify the zealous courage of Italian inquisitors who feared their heretical opponents—in the service of a papacy that wielded the inquisition in Italy as a political tool—or more simply as a “shrewd” means for Innocent IV to foment inquisition's acceptance among the laity. Michael Goodich has argued that papal canonizations in the thirteenth century, including Peter's, demonstrated generally a “defensive anti-heretical theme,” in which the papacy sought to reward with canonization those groups who were loyal to “the political interests of Rome” in opposing heresy. Peter's sainting was simply the result of what might be understood as strictly political considerations, in which any personal qualifications for sanctity were superfluous or nugatory.³² This view contrasts sharply with the older judgment of the Catholic historian Antoine Dondaine, who sought to justify Peter's canonization in what might be considered conventionally more pious terms, noting his contemporary reputation for asceticism, contemplation, and pastoral care. Dondaine consequently attenuated the role of Peter's killing in the course of his inquisitorial work as a criterion for sanctity. Yet in doing so, Dondaine departed from the tradition of his medieval brethren, who (however much they ascribed companionate laudable qualities to these figures) prioritized inquisition as the framework for sanctity.³³ And “political interests” must be contextualized. While the choice to canonize or no—amid a great deal of papal legislation on inquisition—surely served the papacy's multivalent ends, we cannot distinguish too sharply between “political” and “religious” motives. The world in which “politics” took place for medieval churchmen was the universal community of *ecclesia* that nuanced all meanings; moreover, the discourse of heresy's sin that could undergird inquisitorial sanctity far preceded the mid-thirteenth century. More important for our purposes, we glimpse Dominican celebrations regardless of papal approval, and on the other hand, laypeople's pregnant refusal to honor a saint regardless of “shrewd” canonizations. The matter is neither whether inquisitors were “really” saintly nor if their canonizations “merely” political. To apprehend the quality of inquisitorial sainthood in the later Middle Ages, and these figures' role in forming a body of Christian meanings for heresy inquisitions, we must attend to how both the assertions and the denials of their holiness incorporated opposition to heresy. Very few of those Dominicans formally appointed as inquisitors were heralded as saints. Conversely, most medieval Dominicans who were

canonized achieved reputations for sanctity through other characteristics and activities, such as excellence in study or in preaching. But the images that were promoted of holy inquisitors gave full play to antiheretical and inquisitorial roles.³⁴ And the laity's disagreement with these identifications productively offered further opportunities for their articulation. We witness a bidirectional quality in these promotions, as saint and inquisition mutually sacralized the other in the wake of contestation. Inquisition changed what it meant to be a martyr, to be holy, and to be an imitator of Christ.

Inquisitorial Piety

The manifold relationships interwoven in Dominican sources among the inquisitor, his activity, his targets, his death, and God's holy power—rather than the mere naked claim that dead inquisitors were saints—indicate reflections and constructions of a Christian mentality of inquisition. Most simply, the harmony of sanctity and inquisition was presented through the appearance of traditional Christian piety in the inquisitor saint. Such “non-inquisitorial” piety was often a component in the crafting of an inquisitor's holy reputation; standard qualities of devotion could be easily juxtaposed with inquisition (or in subtle ways reinforce its disciplinary lessons). Peter of Verona reportedly won praise and notoriety during his life for his stringent asceticism; in a sermon, Jacobus de Voragine compared Peter's ascetic maceration of his body with fasts and vigils to Christ's own torment in the flesh when flagellated at the crucifixion.³⁵ The inquisitor's life-long purity and chastity, enthusiastic preaching, and pastoral care were likewise cited as evidence for his sanctity.³⁶ Guillaume Arnaud was “devout and most gentle,” both qualities apparently consistent with the inquisitorial work publicly impugned as harsh during his lifetime.³⁷ Pierre Gui's *vita* of his uncle Bernard ascribed to the inquisitor cheerfulness, devotion, tender love for the Order of Preachers, diligence in fulfilling its offices, and the excellence in study that it so prized; his uncle's authorship of several works of history and hagiography also contributed to a reputation for sanctity. Bernard “in life as well as doctrine . . . emanated the sweetest odor to God and to men” and according to his confessor had never committed a mortal sin.³⁸ Such piety could, in fact, have a similar disciplinary purpose to that of inquisition; Gerard de Frachet argued that pious inquisitors like Bernard de Caux served as a vehicle by which “the lord led many

souls to the faith and true charity.”³⁹ What might be considered traditional forms of holy piety were compatible with the promotion of the most cogent opposition to heresy. Despite contestation or complaints, those who personally conducted heresy inquisitions were in truth “gentle” and “sinless.”

Yet this went beyond simple harmony between an inquisitor’s “extracurricular” piety and his work against heresy. More significant is the way in which the saint’s status was argued to be specifically prompted by, or demonstrated through, his activity as an inquisitor. The work itself, distinct from the “martyrdom” to which it could lead, contributed to the inquisitor’s identification as holy. For example, Gerard de Frachet’s *Vitae fratrum* commended Peter of Verona, who upon entrance into the order “gave himself entirely to preaching and to fighting against heretics.” Gerard also interestingly located this zeal within the familiar model of spiritually precocious children, recounting that at about age eight Peter disputed with his heretical uncle about dualism and professed his intention to believe the Roman church’s interpretation. To Gerard, this incident foreshadowed Peter’s future activities against heresy.⁴⁰ Thomas Agni of Lentini’s official *vita* numbered Peter among other Dominican inquisitors, “dogs who keep the wolves from the flocks”; his appointment as inquisitor enabled him to act as a “tireless warrior” in “abolishing diabolical pestilence.” Peter was a new Samson, wielding holy force.⁴¹ The Dominican Jacques de Lausanne’s (d.1322) sermons on Peter likewise evoked the comparison with Samson, common in antiheretical texts. This miraculous slayer of a thousand men with a jawbone of an ass after “the spirit of the Lord came upon him,” who sacrificed himself in order to pull down a house full of three thousand Philistines, was powerful evidence not only of the utility of death in destroying a perceived evil, but also of the dedication of one’s life to extinguishing infidelity, even by means of great violence.⁴² The benevolence of all activity against heresy was vividly asserted by another Dominican preacher, Nicola da Milano, who in a sermon for Peter’s feast day circa 1290 depicted the inquisitor saint as surrounded by the souls that he had led to the faith; standing in the first place were those heretics he had returned to the Roman church.⁴³ (Perhaps Nicola hoped that other targets of inquisition would be similarly grateful one day.) Bernard Gui was “in fervor of the faith, in zeal and sincerity of religion . . . similar to the earliest fathers.” This laudable zeal was echoed in Bernard’s thorough experience “in those things that can pertain to religion and the extermination of the stain of heresy.” Bernard de Caux was a tool to lead “many souls to the faith” in part because he was that “hammer of heretics.”⁴⁴

Attachments of traditional saintly piety to certain inquisitors can be credited to at least two impulses: the assumption that any saint would not fail to exhibit all of the expected criteria of sanctity; and the utility of countering charges that those who persecuted the good were impious. It is also important to reiterate that Dominicans would see little reason to believe that pious virtues were incompatible with fighting heresy in manifold ways. That fight, rather, offered additional opportunities to demonstrate one's zeal for souls and for God. Peter of Verona, it was piously reported, repeatedly announced during a preaching tour in 1236 that "[what] I announce to you is the Catholic faith that the Roman church preaches, in which and for which I am ready to die."⁴⁵ Inquisition, almost uniquely, offered a venue both for fighting and for dying for the faith.

To "Die for the Faith"

Despite this praise in Dominican histories and hagiographies of Christian piety and diligence in inquisition, an inquisitor's slaying by claimed heretics allowed the easiest and most fecund opportunity to link sanctity and inquisition. While Antoine Dondaine sought to argue the holiness of Peter of Verona's life without it, it is difficult to conceive of Peter's rapid canonization if he had simply been ascetic in his habits, a dispenser of pastoral care to nuns, and an enthusiastic preacher. The slain inquisitors whom the order deemed *beati* would undoubtedly have remained as obscure as the majority of their colleagues; on the other hand, even Bernard Gui, despite his modest reputation, might have earned at least this much if his death had come at the hands of heretics. This rhetoric of "martyrdom" was not only the simplest way to promote an inquisitor as a saint, in that it required no exceptional personal piety or long record of service. The very fact of a friar's death in the enterprise of inquisition created the premises for sanctity, stressing that inquisitions and their contestation were an earthly microcosm of the conflict between Satan and God, allowing supporters of inquisition to offer powerful readings of heresy, its opposition, and violence both by and against inquisitors. Violence against inquisition became not an attempt to stop invasive repression by the Roman church (or an alternative claim to justice); instead, an enemy of the faith wished to halt its godly spread. The inquisitor was cast in the antique role of the vulnerable Christian physically threatened by the wicked enemies

of Christ, bravely witnessing to the faith by dying, refusing the apostasy that heretics themselves committed.

To a Dominican like Gerard de Frachet, violence and danger were inherent in the order's seminal task of oppugning heresy. The *Vitae fratrum*, the encouraging mirror of the order's pious image, introduced its chapter "On those who have suffered for the faith" by explaining that

Since the Order of Preachers was founded in Toulouse by blessed Dominic especially against heresies and errors, and for almost 40 years brothers from those parts, in hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness and in many tribulations, fought against them and against the tyrants who defended heretics, at last inquisition against the aforesaid heretics and their supporters was committed to the brothers in Provence by Pope Gregory IX . . . because of which the brothers exposed themselves to many dangers.⁴⁶

This is an obvious reminder of how inquisitorial identity permeated the Order of Preachers as it did no other, regardless of the percentage of friars given formal papal commissions. Yet if inquisition was the inheritor of the order's foundational and multiform work against heresy, martyrdom was a fresh, domestic inheritor of those early sufferings. The Dominican inquisitor's death was the natural culmination, and most desirable goal, of the dangers involved from the very beginning in the Order of Preachers' diverse work against heresy. A ministry marked by instability, itinerancy, and mendicancy made many demands on friars' bodies and strength, and Dominic himself had been aware that the order's charge to active evangelization, especially among those unaccustomed or unwilling to hear the good news of the Roman church, entailed certain risks. Gerard's introduction elided Dominic's early intentions and the young ministry with the later commission as papal inquisitors, positioning inquisition as a new, congruous manifestation of that preaching evangelism. Consequently, the violence from which brother inquisitors might suffer could be understood as a death to uphold the faith, like that suffered while preaching to the infidel. As the historian Étienne de Salagnac wrote, "from the beginning, divine providence gave to the order robust men fighting it out for the faith until death, and for it strongly and happily falling." Inquisitors were a version of this divine gift of fearless witnessing.⁴⁷ As we will see with Dominic, this demonstrates inquisition's increasing rede-

inition as traditional and foundational in the order, but here it was teamed specifically with the spiritual valence of suffering.

In the celebration of deaths as martyrdoms, there was some circularity, as the identification depended upon a depiction of “heretics” as enemies of the Christian faith, whose enmity and heresy was in turn partly proved by the killing and by making a “martyr.” Of course, to be killed by an unbeliever while proclaiming the faith had been the chief determinant of Christian martyrdom since Stephen’s death in Acts. Martyrdoms depended upon heretics’ status as the enemies of Christianity, an identification related to antiheretical discourse, as here too those “enemies” now lurked within the church. But to kill a “fighter for the faith” was itself a sufficient argument of that wickedness if inquisition itself was holy, as churchmen argued it was. Heretics’ wicked identification was then in turn proven by their readiness to kill an inquisitor. Consequently, hagiographical sources were careful to assert the anti-Christian intentions and diabolic alliances of an inquisitor’s killers. According to Gerard de Frachet, the Avignonet martyrs had been killed by “the impious,” while Peter as “inquisitor against heretical depravity was martyred by the impious.”⁴⁸ Étienne de Salagnac described Guillaume Arnaud as “cruelly slain by the sword” of some “unjust *credentes* of heretics.” To the cardinals who wrote to the Dominicans, Guillaume’s killers acted “in the manner of insane madmen.”⁴⁹ Peter Martyr’s killers were likewise “impious”; his *socius*, brother Dominic, “fell by the swords of the impious.”⁵⁰ Pagano da Lecco was killed “by the *credentes* of heretics”; to Nicholas III, Corrado di Venosta was raging “with damnable presumption” “in a spirit of detestable furor” in the killing. “Heretics” forced Pons de Blanes to drink poison.⁵¹ Very simply, to kill an inquisitor—the most radical way to “impede” the work—was a kind of heresy, regardless of any other beliefs or actions.

Inquisition was then witness to Christianity; these deaths were, as Étienne de Salagnac said, “to suffer for the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ.” To Gerard de Frachet, Peter died “for the piety of the faith and obedience to the Roman church.”⁵² As the cardinals wrote about Guillaume Arnaud and his companions, “not only the cause of death, but its time, kind, manner, and all circumstances” contributed to making the inquisitors and their staff “martyrs of Jesus Christ.” To die at the hands of inquisition’s opponents was to die *causa fidei*, “for the piety of the faith and obedience to the Roman church,” “for the defense of the faith,” and “for the faith of Christ and obedience to the Roman church.”⁵³ The martyrdom could itself be ministry, as the inquisitor’s

impressive death could lead to the conversion of those he had tried to reach.⁵⁴ The order's foundational opposition to heresy, including inquisition, was defined thereby as a protection of God's community of dominion and truth against its enemies and deniers. And if dying, then also living, as their undaunted adversaries was a laudable, holy task. Heretics, including but not limited to those who sought the death of inquisitors, blazed in hagiography with madness, anger, impiety: all contrasted to the inquisitor's gentleness, his brave, patient, and Christlike forbearance.

Inquisition as *Imitatio Christi*

These descriptions sought to assert the theological status of the deaths as martyrdoms, but "martyrdom" also implied a strengthened identification of heretics and their supporters as enemies of Christ. The parallel of the inquisitor's death with Christ's passion was another means to associate the inquisitor's killers with evil. Bernard Gui observed that "Christ suffered by the unfaithful people of the Jews; Peter by the unfaithful crowd of heretics."⁵⁵ Thus while Dominican hagiographers claimed that the inquisitor's death emulated the model of Dominic and the earliest brothers in assuming the risks of ministry, they also presented it as following a more exalted exemplar. Although to be killed in inquisition meant dying for Christ, Christ himself could also be read as the prototype of patient suffering and sacrifice. More powerfully, then, an inquisitor's death could also be defined as a death in the *image* of Christ. Jacobus de Voragine compared Peter of Verona's corporal discipline to Christ's physical suffering, but the inquisitor's killing could create and reinforce closer parallels with Christ that still fully encompassed the former's activity against heresy. The idea of martyrdom as *imitatio Christi* was of course not novel, but as old as Christian martyrdom itself. However, in the particular context of contestation over the identities of "Christians" and "antichrists," and over the piety of inquisitions, this depiction not only asserted the Roman church's sole ownership of Christian truth, but also recharacterized Christ himself in offering a new avenue of imitation.

As in the model of the church's earlier martyrs, inquisitors were depicted as willing to die, demonstrating Christlike qualities of fortitude and a lack of fear. Both Peter of Verona and the martyrs of Avignonet reportedly predicted their own deaths with great calmness and anticipated them with joy. We saw,

above, the wounded brother Dominic's testimony that Peter had spoken the *Credo* while dying—a literal last gasp of orthodox assertion—while Guillaume Arnaud and his fellow Avignonet martyrs reportedly met their deaths while singing *Te Deum laudamus*. The modeling of Christ suggested by inquisitors' patience and readiness to suffer could also be more explicit, as these "martyrdoms" structurally recapitulated the death of Christ in a typology cleverly structured by Dominican hagiographers. According to Étienne de Salagnac, Pagano da Lecco, appropriately killed on the feast day of the protomartyr Stephen, was "stabbed with many wounds . . . at last by the example of the savior was pierced through in the side with a lance, always holding his hands over his chest in the manner of a cross."⁵⁶ Jacobus de Voragine's sermons on Peter of Verona made explicit a comparison of Peter's "martyrdom" to Christ's crucifixion. Preaching a frankly anti-Jewish sermon on Job 23:11, "My foot followed his footsteps," Jacobus explained how Peter resembled Christ "not only in suffering but also in the manner of suffering." As anger, jealousy, and avarice motivated the Jews and Judas in Christ's passion, Peter's activity as an inquisitor roused the anger of heretics, his preaching stirred their jealousy, and the actual killers, like Judas, were driven by greed. As water and blood ran from Christ at the crucifixion, the "water of the doctrine of the faith" spilled from Peter's mouth when he spoke the *Credo*, and blood flowed from his wounded head and side. Christ was tormented by the Jews in the head with the crown of thorns; in his blood through the scourging, in the heart when the lance pierced his side, and in his entire body when at the whipping post. Similarly, Peter was struck in the head, pierced in the side, and bled from both of those wounds. (Jacobus's parallelism failed him in aligning Christ's whipping with Peter's severe asceticism.)⁵⁷ According to a miracle tale included in Gerard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*, God himself could frame this typology. It reported that before the death of Guillaume Arnaud and his companions, a Dominican friar had a vision of "God hanging on a cross and blood flowing copiously from his right side." Mary collected the blood in a silver chalice, and then sprinkled it on the three brothers who were soon after killed.⁵⁸ As with any martyr, a smooth and direct path could be plotted from the passion of Christ to that of the inquisitor; the inquisitor's spilled blood became a reshedding of Christ's: not as salvific, but likewise sacrificial and obedient. Here was an immanent typology in which both the writer's art, and also supernatural replication (e.g., the place of wounds) conspired to present inquisitorial martyrdom as *imitatio passionis Christi*.

As an inquisitorial “martyrdom” was an imitation of Christ’s saving death, it could then supercede other, putatively lesser, forms of *imitatio Christi*. In a sermon publicly preached on Peter Martyr’s feast day in Naples in 1291, the Dominican Thomas d’Aversa compared the inquisitor’s wounds to Francis of Assisi’s *stigmata* in a manner not favorable to the latter. Thomas stated that while Peter’s wounds were the signs of the living God, the *stigmata* of Francis were the signs of the dead God. This comparison, apparently fixed in the belief that Peter’s martyrdom trumped Francis’s status as mere confessor, not only served the purpose of offering this Dominican saint as a viable rival to a famous and beloved Franciscan one, but also consequently escalated Peter’s piety and imitation of Christ over that of Francis, and furthered the identification of the inquisitor with Christ. Although the current Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, hardly approved of such a comparison and rebuked Thomas, the parallel well illustrates the Dominican belief that death in inquisition could act as an *imitatio Christi* by reenacting the death of the good at the hands of evil. There was here obvious Dominican-Franciscan rivalry; Dominic himself had never captured lay sentiment as wholly or as quickly as Francis. But lurking here was also the fundamental question of how properly to imitate Christ raised by the Spiritual Franciscans’ adherence to absolute poverty, and inquisition’s imbrication with the troubles of that specific discernment. This dispute over the content and character of the Christian faith—literal biblical model, papal authority and interpretation—became the domain of heresy inquisitors, who prosecuted both apostate Franciscans and their followers, the Beguins. Thomas d’Aversa himself later became inquisitor in Naples, and the Franciscan Angelo Clareno accused him of brutally torturing Spiritual Franciscans in 1305. Thomas’s celebration of Peter Martyr’s supposed *imitatio Christi* in a sermon several years earlier gestures to a point beyond papal and inquisitorial determinations of “the true faith.” Thomas implicitly argued that to die as an inquisitor was closer imitation of Christ than to live in poverty, demonstrating how inquisitorial mentalities—here, arguments that an inquisitor imitated Christ—themselves made assertions about the nature of the Christian faith.⁵⁹

The presentation of inquisitorial killings as martyrdoms that echoed Christ’s own passion sought forcefully to identify the inquisitor’s work and death as a pious duty, a brave performance of God’s work within a hostile world. Just as Christ had come to earth to establish the kingdom of God, and had been rejected and reviled, so the inquisitor’s efforts to cultivate right de-

sire in Christian souls had often met a similar reception. This was not, however, Dominican hagiographers' endorsement of meek gentleness. As we will see below, Dominican expositions of the death penalty presented a model of Christ that was neither gentle nor patient. Patience and fierceness were juxtaposed in inquisitors' modeling of Christ, who suffered unrighteous persecution, but imposed righteous persecution. Again, the spiritual and moral valences of persecuted and persecutor depended upon identity and circumstance. Christ himself was a nuanced model of holiness and violence. In these celebrations of "martyrdom," the inquisitor imitated Christ in qualities just as his death replicated the passion; inquisitors in life and death adopted a kind of *imitatio Christi*. But through the inquisitor saint's miracles, this attachment went further, as God himself became a kind of inquisitor.

The Miracles of Inquisition

As death at the hands of "heretics" cyclically defined an inquisitor as a "martyr" (thence defining his killers as "heretics"), the sanctity that resulted was ostensibly proved long after that death by miracles, any saint's signs of divine favor and holy power. Miracles also, however, were credited to the living inquisitor retroactive from his martyrdom, as divine means of assisting his work against heresy. In the works of Dominican hagiographers, the inquisitor saint's miracles not only demonstrated the truth of Christianity, by showing that divine power could be wielded to eradicate heresy and that the death was, indeed, a "martyrdom," but also could be used more broadly to craft multiple, diverse relationships between holiness and fighting heresy. The very existence of miracles around the inquisitor saint illustrated his divine favor and holy power, but the particular details and occurrences within miracles also asserted the sanctity of inquisition itself. Again amid contestation over the holiness of inquisitors and inquisition, miracles could be offered as identifying, approving, and furthering the work on earth of the inquisitor saint. But as those miracles ostensibly arose from inquisition's righteousness, again we witness the mutual sacralization of inquisition and saint.

An inquisitor's death could be announced miraculously. Bernard de Caux, who died at Agen, appeared on the night of his death in "gleaming clothing" to a brother praying in the church at Toulouse; after the brother followed Bernard out of the church, he saw him vested as a priest and "lifted up

on high.” Pierre Gui likewise reported that at the moment of his uncle’s death, a light appeared to Thomas Normanni, prior of the Dominican house at Limoges, in order miraculously to announce the coming burial there of one “who had enlightened the order and the church in many ways with his life and teaching.”⁶⁰ God could show his power to confirm and announce the “fact” of the martyrdom, and consequently to proclaim the identity of the saint. Gerard de Frachet’s vision of the Avignonet “martyrs,” described above, in which Mary sprinkled the three Dominicans with Christ’s blood, was both prophecy and communication about the imminent status of the inquisitors. In the hagiography of inquisitor saints, God used such visions and miracles to make plain who could be identified, and should be revered, as one of his martyrs. The miracle announced a sanctity that was instantaneous once it was sealed by death. A miracle tale in the *Vitae fratrum* claimed that on the very night on which the Avignonet party was killed, a woman in the diocese of Toulouse, in the middle of childbirth, shouted that she saw heaven open and a staircase reaching to earth, and bloodied persons ascending it. The pains of labor diminished wholly. Another recounted that King Jaime I of Aragon, while on the field of battle the same night, saw a “great light descending from Heaven” and made the miracle’s significance even more clear to his soldiers: “tonight God has performed a great work.”⁶¹ According to Étienne de Salagnac, the body of the slain Pagano da Lecco, who had died in the figure of a cross, instantly demonstrated a nascent incorruptibility. When brought home to his convent,

fresh wounds appeared, and in the sight of the bishop and all the clergy and people, suddenly a stream of blood issued from the wound of the side, and the blood was most rubicund, like [the blood] of a lamb . . . it was amazing, that through the six days in which that holy body remained unburied, the wounds never incited horror nor emitted a little stench, but always remained fresh and ruddy.⁶²

The freshness of the wound was an instant message to the clergy and people that Pagano, kept incorrupt by holy power, had received the most profound divine approbation long before any investigation. This testified to his immediate sanctity, as incorruptibility traditionally did, and furthered his identification with Christ. The reason for this approbation was suggested by the blood trickling from his side, and its comparison to that of lamb, which un-

derscored that the death of Pagano—at the hands of heretics—recapitulated Christ's own passion.

Such miracles of God's immediate endorsement and identification, recounted in hindsight, could also help the brothers to refute any doubts about a "martyr's" sanctity and status left by the absence of papal canonization. Gerard de Frachet claimed that Christ himself, regardless of whatever subsequent popes might have to say about the matter, not only stated his belief in the Avignonet martyrs' holiness, but also gave precise directions about their veneration even before their death. He recounted that a woman dozing during mass at the Dominican church in Toulouse saw Christ on the crucifix in the middle of the church lower his right arm, which dripped blood, as it called to her, saying "go and tell the prior that he should put the relics in such a place." This was duly done when the bodies of the dead inquisitors were brought there the following day, and the place was quite appropriate, just to the right of the crucifix.⁶³ Despite the papacy's continued reluctance to canonize Guillaume Arnaud and his inquisitorial companions, the order could console itself with these miracles, trusting that his sanctity had been confirmed and advertised by God himself—who even defined the bodily remnants as "relics"—and that the order's veneration of him as a saint, even in the absence of formal procedures, had the firmest foundation.

In addition to the miracle tales that worked to identify the inquisitor as a saint at his death or even before it, in others the inquisitor, like all Christian saints, was offered as a beneficial conduit of God's holy power through healings and cures. Peter of Verona was unsurprisingly credited with a wide range of such miracles in his various collections, from healing a Dominican in Lyon who suffered from a neck abscess, after the brother begged the master general (probably Humbert of Romans) to apply Peter's relics, to raising a child from the dead.⁶⁴ But Gerard de Frachet also reported similar miracles for uncanonized inquisitor saints. According to the *Vitae fratrum*, a sister named Blanca at the order's convent at Prouilhe suffered from an illness in her jaw that rendered her unable to eat and speak. Her sisters asked "if she wished to have" the assistance of cloth relics of "brother Guillaume, killed at Avignonet for the faith of Christ," and at her nodding assent one was placed "with great reverence and devotion" on the afflicted jaw. She was immediately healed, crying out "I am cured by the merits of brother Guillaume, martyr of Christ." Guillaume Arnaud and his slain colleagues supposedly performed other cures at their tombs for those who "vowed themselves" to the martyrs.⁶⁵

As noted above, Gerard, Étienne de Salagnac, and Bernard Gui credited miracles to even more obscure figures like Bernard de Traversa and Pons de Blanes, who were reputed to have performed miracles at their burial sites. Similarly, Bernard de Caux reportedly cured many at his tomb after having performed miracles during his lifetime.⁶⁶

Yet more significant than the miracles' very existence were their functions, and the details contained within them that fashioned arguments about both heresy and heresy inquisitions, sacralizing the latter and arguing for God's transcendent community in which nothing was left uncertain or unpunished. The frequent deployment of holy power against heresy and for inquisition in miracle tales confirmed the holy identity of the inquisitor and was intended to serve as a more specific reminder (beyond the inquisitor's sanctity generally) of God's support for inquisition. Notably, demonstrations of holy power through the saint served specifically "inquisitorial" functions; that is, miracles could publicly disclose the falsity of heresy's feigned piety, publicly and inerringly identifying the wicked disbelief and apostasy among those believed to be good Christians. The problem of discernment, confronted through so many ecclesiastical and inquisitorial media, could be attacked and ostensibly resolved more aggressively through the miracles of an inquisitor saint.

The hagiography of Peter Martyr argued that miracles had been directly used in the service of inquisition during the saint's lifetime. In an account of Peter's public examination of an arrested Cathar bishop in Milan, the heretic challenged Peter to intercede with God to assuage the oppressive heat, "if you are as holy as this foolish people affirms you to be." When the "athlete of the faith" accepted the challenge, a cloud appeared in the sky, blocking the sun and lowering the temperature. This tale sought to disprove any heretical arguments about God's lack of governance over the physical world and also showed the inquisitor's sanctity, but it also asserted God's willingness to wield his power in the disparagement of heresy and solved the common problem of discernment—here, interestingly, the supposed question of whether laypeople were correct in ascribing holiness to Peter.⁶⁷ Another miracle concerned a disputation against a heretic in which Peter was making a poor showing. Pausing to pray, he begged God either to help him "defend his cause, infusing him with the light of the true faith," or to deprive the heretic of speech, "by which he abuses God."⁶⁸ The heretic was consequently rendered mute, demonstrating not only where spiritual allegiances lay in the battle between one faithful and one opposed to the Roman church's "cause," but also God's own willing-

ness to impose violence on the body when persuasion failed. A miracle collected in 1314 recounted a plot by some heretics in Milan to convert to heresy a nobleman who often hosted Peter; one heretic, a necromancer, summoned a devil to appear as the Virgin Mary, who persuaded the nobleman that heresy was “the true faith.” After praying “that the piety of Christ reveal the machinations of the devil to the honor of Catholic truth,” Peter took a consecrated host to the heretics, where the image consequently dissolved “with a terrible noise and stink”; the nobleman, no longer “seduced by the devil,” returned to the Roman church.⁶⁹ Only miraculous spectacle, it seemed, could defeat confusion over “the true faith.”

A more interesting and illustrative “miracle” linked to inquisitorial activity is Gerard de Fracher’s account of Peter Martyr’s “prophecy” that a castle called Gattedo, a heretical refuge, would be destroyed and the corpses buried there of two leaders of the Cathar sect of Concorezzo, Nazarius and Desiderius, exhumed and burned. As Innocent IV had instructed Dominican inquisitors in Lombardy to proceed against the castle in 1254, Gerard could jubilantly report that its destruction indeed took place “through the office of the brother inquisitors against heretics,” thus proving what the Holy Spirit had predicted through Peter.⁷⁰ The *Vitae fratrum* presented this very common result of a completed inquisition—the confiscation of property owned by heretics and post-mortem burning—as a demonstration of holy power, confirming the sanctity of the inquisitor who predicted it together with the righteousness of the inquisitors who executed it. The realization of Peter’s successful faux prophecy again was dizzyingly cyclical but in a slightly different way, as that very common end of an inquisition became enveloped within the sacrality of the predicted event. Gerard’s tale is also an especially intriguing example of how inquisitors and their supporters argued for the continuity of divine and inquisitorial justice in inquisition. The exhumations realigned the earthly fates of the two heretical bishops with their certain eternal condemnation; more important, God himself had communicated to the future saint, in a testament of his sanctity, that this realignment must and would inevitably take place through his fellow “brother inquisitors.” And anyone who might chafe at the destruction of Gattedo should know that its justice was assured by the surety of holy prophecy.

As this inquisitorial-Christian vision of the world was an expansive one, with divine-ecclesiastical justice traversing across time and space, miracles also allowed the inquisitor to fulfill his office after death. In the case of Peter

Martyr, the peculiar mobility of a saint between worlds permitted a further statement of inquisition's divine favor through the miraculous continuation of his inquisitorial duties. As a dead saint, Peter accomplished all the tasks of the living inquisitor, including seeking out, identifying, punishing, and even forgiving penitent and contrite heretics. According to Gerard de Frachet, when a young heretic viewed an image of Peter's martyrdom at the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, he was rendered mute after a flippant comment that had he been present, he would have struck Peter harder. He was healed upon promising the saint to abjure heresy, showing that the inquisitor's power, undeniably founded in God, could now pursue its just goals even more efficiently and effectively.⁷¹ Surely we perceive here lay doubt in Peter's sanctity, and again the deployment of miracles to address the inquisitorial matter of discernment, here turned to the question both of holiness and of heresy. Moreover, we see the placement of this inquisitor saint within a hagiographical tradition of saintly violence against doubt and apostasy. But the saint's attack on error was now a kind of transcendent *inquisitio*.

The inquisitor saint's miracles then offered a kind of supercharged version of the discernment between true and false Christian faith that workaday inquisitors claimed definitively to do. The life and afterlife of a saint offered countless ingenious ways to carry out the instructive, identifying, and disciplinary work of inquisition. As Bernard Gui described his predecessor Bernard de Caux, Bernard's holy incorruptibility after death was itself an instance of God's helpful discernment between truth and falsehood, precisely like that accomplished in Bernard's living duties as inquisitor. As Bernard recounted, two friars at Agen, moved by "special devotion" for the holy man, pressed for Bernard de Caux's translation in 1281. When the corpse was exhumed, it was discovered that "by the divine gift of special grace . . . the body of the reverend and most holy father brother Bernard" had remained incorrupt, "without the vapor of any stench." The incorruptibility of this "inquisitor and persecutor and hammer of heretics" prompted the Dominicans to recount the miracles that he had performed during his lifetime; it was an earthly sign of his soul's fate after death and consequently testified to the quality of his life here below. It also taught broader lessons about God's enlightening goals in miraculous work through his saints:

So also almighty God—whose incomprehensible judgments, whose unsearchable ways, whose counsels are not changed—not only in

antique times wished to show himself as wonderful in his saints in order to extirpate errors from the hearts of the faithful and for faith to take root in the minds of the faithful; but also indeed in our times, in order to encourage the hope of those advancing, to strengthen the Catholic faith, to confirm evangelical and apostolic doctrine, he arranged after [Bernard's] happy death to appear as wonderful in this saint who was wonderful in life, wonderful in doctrine, wonderful in the extirpation of heretical depravity, because both wonderfully and powerfully he preserved his body whole from the common turning to ashes of other bodies.⁷²

While inquisitors could be saints, saints could also be inquisitors. According to Bernard Gui, his predecessor's incorruptibility and miracles, while not solely grounded in his activity as an inquisitor, pursued a similar goal of extinguishing heresy. Bodily incorruptibility was both testimony to inquisition's rightness and tool of it, just as the reluctant and fearful deaths of condemned heretics finally disclosed their concealed corruption. It was proof and argument. Bernard de Caux's past inquisitorial activity was both assisted and validated; what he had tried to "extirpate" in life, God sought through him to extirpate in death. The saint was thus another way to articulate the universal community that inquisitors sought to establish in their more prosaic duties, a community reaching back to the antique days of the early church, when the problem of discerning between true and false apostles and implementing the true faith likewise troubled it. Miracle solved the problem of discernment; it made spectacularly visible the theological alliances both of heretics and of the Roman church that sought to discover and to convert them. Those "incomprehensible judgments," like those of inquisitions, taught that the rules of justice lay beyond the easily perceptible and understandable, beyond the earthly obvious. God wielded his miraculous power to perceive and detect heretics accurately; this hagiography thus implied that he likewise encouraged the more tedious efforts to discriminate among the true and false piety that very average inquisitors carried out amid other laypeople, similarly unable to tell wicked pretense from God's truth.

These manifestations of holy power, and the saint's role as their conduit, demonstrate how Dominican hagiographers and historians maintained that God applied his will and *virtus* in various ways to the promotion and success of inquisition. Very simply, God approved of those who fulfilled the duties

of inquisition, particularly (but not exclusively) if they continued those duties, defined as a witnessing to the faith, unto death. God himself, in fact, acted inquisitorially. The circulation of such miracles surely sought to remind the Order of Preachers that its efforts to “save souls,” beginning with Dominic and continuing through the appointment of several brothers as heresy inquisitors, served God amid—or particularly because of—its difficulties. While the canonization of a figure like Peter of Verona may seem to have an obvious utility for implementing inquisitorial and papal authority (and if this were the chief intent, lay resistance proves it failed), the prominence here of Gerard de Frachet, who wrote explicitly to praise and encourage his brethren, demonstrates its value for Dominican identity. These figures were offered as points of pride, even without papal canonization. And the fact that Peter Martyr was chosen as such precisely during a difficult moment of opposition to the order helps to show that the promotion of holy inquisitors was more nuanced than calculated, strategic opposition to heretical holiness. It both resulted from a particular, sincere vision of inquisition as *causa fidei*, and reinforced it. Through the reputations of these inquisitor saints, Dominicans asserted and assured themselves of inquisition’s sanctity; their stories and miracles comfortingly claimed not simply the truth of the Roman faith, but also the most obscure inquisitor’s divine support. When, for example, Bernard Gui conducted his inquisitions in early fourteenth-century Toulouse, he would hear at the Dominican house the mealtime lectures celebrating his predecessor Peter Martyr, who was killed, and thence elevated to sanctity, “for conducting the inquisition against heretics committed to him by the apostolic see.” This could reassure Bernard of the holiness of his own efforts, if not persuade him that he was bound for equal glory. In a letter to the order’s house at Carcassonne in 1316, Bernard praised his recently deceased inquisitorial colleague Geoffroy d’Ablis in the language that had proclaimed Peter’s canonization in 1253: Geoffroy was also “a strenuous and athletic fighter against the enemies of the faith.”⁷³ All brother inquisitors’ work assumed the tone of holy pursuit, even in the absence of martyrdom. And this reassurance was a likely necessity, given the contestation that could make “martyrs” in the first place: contestation that both Bernard and Geoffroy personally witnessed. However, this imagery was not just useful for internal identity, as it also engaged with that contestation by seeking to translate to the laity inquisition’s holiness.

The Inquisitor Saint and the Laity

These hagiographic conceptions could, and did, travel beyond the order, pursuing the wider dissemination of these saintly reputations. Although Humbert of Romans had charged the brothers not to circulate the *Vitae fratrum* outside the order—an instruction clearly sensitive to those challenges in the mid-1250s—other media that helped to advertise and to laud inquisitor saints transmitted more widely these articulated relationships of holiness and inquisition.⁷⁴ More precisely, the depictions of inquisitors as saints sought agreement with the premise that finally stood behind those articulations: inquisition was not the unchristian persecution of the just, but was rather a manifestation of Christianity's demand to honor God and the truth of his church. Here particularly we see the contested engagement over the characters of inquisition and of Christian sanctity itself. Could an inquisitor be holy? What did it mean to “die for the faith” or imitate Christ? Was Peter of Verona a “real” saint (an argument carried on despite papal canonization, in a reversal of the Dominican order's continued claims for Guillaume Arnaud without it)? This contestation then permitted further productive affirmation of, and instruction on, the mutually sacralizing inquisition and inquisitor saint beyond the borders of an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*.

After Innocent IV's remarkable eagerness to canonize Peter of Verona, he and successive popes devoted much energy to encouraging this inquisitor's cult. They enthusiastically sought to further devotion through a flurry of bulls, instructing “all the clergy” in Christendom to celebrate the feast and offering various indulgences for its observance.⁷⁵ The order was given special permission to observe the office even when the pope had suspended other celebrations during the formal interdiction of a city.⁷⁶ Other orders, as well as seculars, were included in these exhortations to western Christendom generally to foster the cult. In one of the miracles of Peter collected in 1314, the Franciscan Philip of Brescia preached publicly that he had suggested to a fellow Friar Minor that they seek Peter's help to cool the heat, as he had heard the saint had once done this by summoning a cloud. When a cloud appeared and Philip disparaged the ostensible miracle, the heat instantly returned and intensified, prompting Philip to promise to preach the miracle and Peter's glory in penance.⁷⁷ While this tale obviously indicates skepticism in Peter's sanctity (a skepticism that was not isolated, as we will see below), it also

illustrates the practice of preaching about Peter, even beyond the Dominican order.

The energy of these papal encouragements was secondary to that of the Order of Preachers itself, as in various ways the order transmitted its conceptions of, and sought to encourage devotion to, the holy inquisitor. Vauchez observed the important role of Dominican bishops in disseminating the order's saints, and Andreas de Albalate, elected bishop of Valentina in Aragon in 1248, who ordered the feast of Peter Martyr to be celebrated throughout his diocese, is one example.⁷⁸ Urban laity would have seen the images of Peter placed in Dominican churches after the general chapter's command to do this in 1256. (One of Peter's miracle tales concerned a youth in Florence who stood "before a certain *tabula* on which there was an image depicted of Peter receiving martyrdom."⁷⁹) The Sienese painter Duccio di Buoninsegna (c.1255–1319) included Peter as one of the periphery saints in the *Rucellai Madonna* (c.1285), commissioned for the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and its Spanish Chapel was dominated by a fresco by Andrea di Buonaiuto (c.1365) in which Peter disputed with heretics as black-and-white dogs, sent by Dominic, attacked the hounds who had ravaged the sheep. Another fourteenth-century fresco in the Dominican church at Perugia depicted the miracle of Peter causing rain to fall during a disputation with a Cathar bishop.⁸⁰ The Florentine artist Bernardo Daddi (1280–1348) painted two of Peter's miracle tales: the devil in the form of a black horse who wanted to halt Peter's preaching; and the apparition of the Virgin Mary promised by heretics that disclosed itself as the devil when Peter brought a consecrated host.⁸¹ These images advertised the very existence of the saint, linking at the most basic level inquisition and holiness. Moreover, they would deepen this association through their content, reminding the laity that Peter's sanctity was inexorably bound to his work as an inquisitor, that his death was a "martyrdom," and also that God deployed divine power through miracle to uncover and to eradicate heresy, just as inquisitors did in more banal fashion.⁸²

As with the placement of images in Dominican churches, other measures taken by the order ostensibly concerned with its "internal" veneration of Peter were also positioned to influence the laity. The order's general chapter decreed in 1315 that a mass in honor of Peter Martyr was to be celebrated at least every two weeks in every Dominican house. The following year's chapter added a new versicle and response for Peter in the feast-day litanies. The brothers were to exhort God to "with indulgence incline yourself to the prayers that we offer

to you, lord, by the intercession of blessed Peter, your martyr, and keep under your protection the fighters of the faith [*pugiles fidei*].” This prayer alluded to the bull of Peter’s canonization, *Magnis et crebris*, and imaginatively attached all Dominicans, whatever their particular responsibilities, to heresy inquisitions. The general chapter in 1318 admitted bluntly that these liturgical revisions were undertaken with an eye to the laity. It mandated that at the prayer offices of matins and vespers a commemoration of Peter Martyr should be said after the commemoration of Dominic, “so that reverence of blessed Peter, the glorious martyr, may be impressed more firmly into the hearts of the people.” The chapter in 1321 expanded these liturgical instructions. At matins the brothers were to say the antiphon “New Peter,” the verse “You have anticipated him in blessings of sweetness,” and the response “You have placed on his head a crown of precious stones.” At vespers the verse was to be “You have granted him the desire of his heart, lord,” and the response “and by the will of his lips you have not cheated him” (cf. Psalm 20).⁸³

Hagiographical accounts of Peter Martyr could have reached the laity in Italy through the fourteenth-century vernacular translation of Thomas Agni of Lentini’s *Vita*, and also more widely via the many vernacular translations of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*.⁸⁴ Of course, only a limited segment of the laity would have encountered the textual images of the holy inquisitor, even when translated into the vernacular. More important was hagiography’s transmission through preaching. The Order of Preachers applied its particular task and skill to the propagation of inquisitor saints, publishing both their plain existence and consequently the claim, ideally so fruitful for the work of living inquisitors, that inquisition was the holy, benevolent care of souls, the certain discernment between true and false faith. The order’s general chapter in 1278 stated that “we wish and command that brothers in their preachings should strive to announce to people the martyrdom of Friar Pagano [da Lecco], and may the miracles of him and of others be written down.” This command was doubly circulated after Bernard Gui meticulously added it to the brief narrative of Pagano’s death in Étienne de Salagnac’s *De quatuor*.⁸⁵ While the order never explicitly mandated in its legislation sermons on Peter Martyr, from 1253 the saint’s feast day provided a *de facto* obligation to preach in his praise. One manuscript of Thomas Agni of Lentini’s *vita* of Peter Martyr ends with the added advice that it should be read at table once a month, as it is “exceedingly useful to the brothers,” containing “good and useful material for preaching.”⁸⁶ We do see evidence in practice. Nicola

da Milano's preaching in 1287 to the artisans and merchants who belonged to the Marian confraternity at the Dominican church at Milan praised Peter's ability to bring all souls, including heretics, to the faith.⁸⁷ Remigio dei Girolami (d.1319), a brother at Florence's Santa Maria Novella, in a feast-day sermon praised the saint, who himself preached throughout Italy in order to exterminate heresy, and "without fear sought martyrdom for Christ."⁸⁸ Preaching on Peter Martyr is also apparent in Dominican sermon collections, including those of Jacobus de Voragine and Jacques de Lausanne.⁸⁹ Another hint of its practice is the hagiographical claim that the saint himself did his part miraculously to further such preaching to the laity; when brother Johannes Polonus, scheduled to preach on Peter's feast day, fell ill and feared that he could not deliver the sermon, he prayed to and was healed by the merits of the one "whose glory he had to preach."⁹⁰ Narrative details in miracle tales claim the influence of this preaching on the dissemination of the cult. The *Vitae fratrum* recounted a tale of a traveler, injured by the roadside, who remembered that "on the feast of blessed Peter Martyr he had heard it preached" that an ill woman was healed by applying earth soaked with the saint's blood. Upon reminding God that the actual relic was unnecessary, he was likewise healed by the saint's merits. When a gravely ill woman in Chalons-sur-Marne "had heard preaching on blessed Peter" that asserted his many miracles, she hurried to the local Dominican church and prayed to the saint before his altar, asking the "glorious martyr" to intercede with God, "for whose faith you sustained a most bitter death." The tale claimed that she was instantly healed, proving and revoicing the truth of what she had ostensibly learned in the sermon: Peter's inquisitorial activity was a work of the faith, his death a holy martyrdom, his status saintly. Conversely, a miracle tale could end with a local Dominican preaching the miracle to the laity.⁹¹ Again, as miracles were demonstrations of holy power and favor, here the lesson was both "forwards" (his miracles are true because he is a saint) and "backwards" (he is a saint because he works miracles, therefore the death was a martyrdom, therefore inquisition is holy).

In addition, several accounts in Gerard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* suggest that immediately after Peter of Verona's death in 1252, Dominicans began informally to promote their saint, and his supposed holy, intercessory power, among the laity to whom they ministered. The transmission of both relics and reputation is evident in the story of a friar who appeared in Besançon with a small ampule containing the relic of a cloth dipped in Peter's blood, which at-

tracted many citizens to attempt cures by drinking wine in which it had been placed. The order's strategy is more tidily apparent in the tale of a woman in Metz who had suffered several difficult childbirths. She complained to a Dominican relative, who had recently returned to the convent in Metz from the order's provincial chapter, bringing with him relics of Peter Martyr given by the provincial prior to this house. He advised her to "trust in the goodness of God and merits of the new martyr Peter of our order." He recommended that she vow herself and her labor to Peter, name the child after him, present the child yearly at Peter's altar, observe his feast and office, and attend the sermons for his feast day. When this vow succeeded, the story of her success, and consequently the saint's reputation, were both broadcast throughout Metz, prompting others to have recourse to the new saint.⁹² We see here the neat transmission of Peter's fame and its material evidence, and encouragement of his cult, down the course of Dominican organization, from provincial chapter to local house to laity. Later miracle tales collected by the order indicate that Peter's reputation continued to be bruited informally by the brothers. In the wake of the order's call in 1318 for new miracles, reports of public miracles performed by Peter Martyr came from Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Bohemia, and Ireland. The account of a man from Hungary who made a pilgrimage to visit Peter's tomb in Milan is a telling indication of the far-flung order's attempts to promote its saint among the laity.⁹³

In addition to images in churches, liturgies, preaching, and informal conversation, the order encouraged the laity in turn to help disseminate the cult further.⁹⁴ When the general chapter in 1297 approved of the Milanese friars' "pious and fervent" request to bury Peter "more honorably," and instructed all the brothers to persuade others to assist in the realization of this "so necessary and meritorious work," the reasons cited for the approval were not only to befit the glory of the saint, but also "to excite the devotion of the faithful."⁹⁵ We see here two distinct ways for the order to advertise the saint and encourage devotion to him: the construction of an impressive burial place to be seen by the laity, and the enlistment of the laity's cooperation in completing it through donations. The request in 1297 did not apparently bear adequate fruit, as the general chapter at London in 1335 reported that the brothers in Milan did not have sufficient funds to construct a new tomb, and requested all Dominicans to persuade "persons devoted to the glorious martyr" to help accomplish "so holy a work." Again, it is likely indicative of sluggish progress that the following year's general chapter at Bruges reiterated this command,

with the addition that provincial priors should “diligently” remind the brothers in their provinces about this duty.⁹⁶ Such appeals for lay support in increasing the saint’s visibility were also made on a smaller scale. Bernard Gui reported that while he was prior of the Dominican house in Castres from 1301 to 1305, the lady Fina, a “devoted friend of the brothers,” sponsored the construction of a chapel of Peter Martyr in the order’s church of St. Vincent. It is likely that the particular direction of Fina’s patronage, which was performed “out of devotion” for the order and its saint, was guided by Bernard, who encouraged Fina’s devotion and then positioned her to encourage others.⁹⁷ A later miracle tale, a version of the common sinking-ship miracle in which several panicked appeals to various saints go unheeded, put the saint’s casual advertisement in the mouth of the laity. A Genoese passenger, rather didactically, asked his fellows: “Have you never heard that a certain one from the Order of Preachers, Friar Peter, was killed by heretics in the defense of the Catholic faith, and that God has shown many signs through him?” A prayer to this new saint quieted the storm, and upon landing the grateful passengers visited the local Dominican church to give thanks.⁹⁸

The order’s efforts to boost lay devotion to Peter Martyr are palpable. And it is brilliantly clear from the many instructions, encouragements, appeals, and miracle tales recounted above, as well as the inability of any dead inquisitor other than Peter of Verona to be canonized, that many members of the laity found the assertions of inquisitors’ sanctity unpersuasive. Given the atmosphere of contestation within which the office of inquisition developed, the struggle over discernment between true and false Christianity, this is not surprising. As we have seen, the violence that produced dead inquisitors was at its base the belief in the injustice or wickedness of this work, the reverse of its discerning assertions; that same charge of injustice, raised more broadly, prevented the acclamation of murdered inquisitors as saints. The debate over holiness extended to a “saint” himself. To Bernard Gui, this resistance had a theological force beyond the technicality of needing an active lay cult for canonization. As he carefully explained about the Avignonet inquisitors, “the lord then glorified his martyrs with miracles and would have glorified them more, but the incredulity of those among whom and by whom they suffered, as is credibly believed, impeded it.”⁹⁹ Here the saints’ failure to exhibit further miracles and to be canonized was credited to already extant (and sinfully culpable) disbelief, and that disbelief in their sanctity was certainly due, as Bernard implied, to the unpopularity that had made them vulnerable to vio-

lence. And as Dominicans saw it, this doubt in inquisitors' sanctity rendered the laity unworthy of their intercession. According to Bernard Gui's nephew Pierre, at Avignon in 1317, John XXII informed his uncle (then the order's procurator general) and master general Berengar of Landorre that he wished to name a new Dominican saint. The pope suggested Martin Donadieu of Carcassonne, who had died in 1299. Berengar and Bernard responded that although Martin's holiness was certain,

nevertheless the irreverence of the people and subsequent disturbance in Carcassonne against the brothers and the office of inquisition, during that time in which that holy soul happily fell asleep in the lord, had suppressed many things . . . the turbulent multitude of that people had rendered itself unworthy of the divine benefits to be brought about by the merits of that holy man.¹⁰⁰

Although Berengar and Bernard favored instead the canonization of Thomas Aquinas, there is no reason to believe that they exaggerated the absence of a local cult for Martin, and the influence of the protracted anti-inquisitorial protests in southern France, touched upon in Chapter 1, upon it. This elision of inquisition, order, and sanctity reportedly even hindered the *virtus* of a holy friar who was not himself associated with inquisition.¹⁰¹ The spectacle of a petulant saint refusing his intercession is amusing, but significant here is the final lesson of God punitively denying an earthly vehicle of his protection and succor (Martin's intercessory holy power) to those who opposed (his) inquisitors and the order whence they came.

More seriously, there was popular rejection of even the supposedly indubitable sanctity of Peter Martyr, formally canonized and so aggressively publicized by both papacy and order. We noticed above the encouragement that Peter be included after Dominic in liturgical prayers to "impress" lay devotion more firmly. And accounts exist of active antipathy, rather than cool apathy; opposition to the saint is palpable through several of Peter's miracle stories. Even those images designed to swell devotion were finally ambiguous, subject to resistant reading by laypeople, as we see in the young heretic standing before the image of Peter's martyrdom in Florence, who flippantly commented that if he had been present at Peter's death, he would have dealt a stronger blow. A miracle in the 1314 collection similarly reported that the brothers at a Dominican house in Tuscany had erected an image in their church that

showed “how [Peter] had been killed by a heretic for the defense of the faith and of Catholic truth.” According to the tale, a spectator blasphemously charged that although “those brothers caused a figure of that friar Peter to be painted, how he died, as if he had undergone martyrdom for the Christian faith,” the real cause of his killing was a dispute over a woman.¹⁰² This may initially appear to be simply an instance of the traditional hagiographical utility of skepticism, and the consequent display of miracles in order spectacularly to erase it. But supporting evidence strongly implies that these glimpses of opposition to Peter Martyr as saint did not result from a convention of the genre, but rather reflected the laity’s genuine reluctance to accept the holiness of inquisitor saints, reluctance that the circulated miracles sought to overcome through their arguments of the inquisitor’s sanctity and the linked sacralization of inquisition.¹⁰³

While in “inquisitorial” miracles disparagement of Peter as a saint won various condign punishments, such opposition could also receive more mundane censure. It is useful testimony to the spiritual claims made for the inquisitor saint that impugning his holiness was defined as heresy, ironically subjecting one’s disbelief to inquisitors. Denying the holiness of the canonized Peter Martyr was fundamentally an argument for a different Christianity than that proposed by inquisitors and Dominican colleagues: different criteria for sanctity and imitating Christ, different judgments about the theological status of “heretics,” the Roman church, and inquisition. In 1299 in Bologna, a witness testified before the Dominican inquisitor Guido of Vicenza that the carpenter Oddo had criticized all levels of the clergy but “especially the Preachers,” who kept concubines, mocked the citizens, and “made one Peter Martyr a saint, although he is not a saint.” Oddo “mock[ed] the aforesaid St. Peter Martyr and disparage[d] him very much.”¹⁰⁴ Oddo’s opinions neatly exemplify both the easy rejection of a canonized saint as well as the public perception of Dominican impetus in forming and circulating the cult, again suggesting the deep penetration of inquisition into the order’s external and internal identity. In addition, Bernard Gui recounted that in the protests that arose against inquisitions in Languedoc, Albi’s citizens “impiously caused to be destroyed the images and writing” of Peter Martyr and Dominic that had been placed on the town gate, “in which deed clearly to the eyes of all witnesses they demonstrated their madness, rejecting the saints of God approved by the holy church.”¹⁰⁵ This reflects the elision of “anti-inquisitorial” into “anti-Dominican” sentiment and violence often visible in

this period, and again the order's public identity as "fighters of the faith," and we also obviously perceive the difficulty of promoting Peter of Verona as a saint, and his death as a martyrdom. The sanctity of a slain inquisitor formed one contested component in the Roman church's structure of divine truth, itself built in the practice of heresy inquisitions. To claim that the most aggressive seekers into souls, those who handed over the recalcitrant to be executed, were holy precisely because of that work, daringly reflected one vision of Christianity. But to tear down, literally or metaphorically, the sanctity of an inquisitor like Peter of Verona was to speak about canonization itself, the Dominican order, the Roman church, and the spiritual status of inquisition and holiness. However, those destructions offered their own opportunities to assert the Roman church's authority over the individual soul, as we see in the appearance of people like Oddo before inquisitors. When the town of Cordes in Languedoc was reconciled in 1318 after its protest against inquisitions, one of its punishments was to construct a chapel dedicated to St. Peter Martyr.¹⁰⁶

The Shadows of Sanctity

It is worth reiterating that in these hagiographical advertisements among the laity, despite their emphasis on the saint's useful thaumaturgic power, inquisition was not a satellite, but the nexus. Miracles, sermons, and images all made clear that the inquisitor's sanctity rested in a laudable activity against heresy continued to death, and also that both holy and earthly power was justifiably wielded against those who opposed themselves to the Roman church. Inquisition was holiness. In addition to their internal use as exhortation and proud identification, Dominicans wanted the identifications of heresy, inquisition, and piety constructed through the inquisitor saint to reach the laity. That saint was offered as a mediator between laity and inquisition, a locus for healing and comfort, a conduit of God's power in miracle just as he had been—because he had been—a conduit of divine and ecclesiastical power in his activity against heretics. Those Dominicans who proffered inquisitors as saints certainly saw lay devotion as another way for Christians to affirm humbly and piously their obedience to God's transcendent *ecclesia*. Rather than depicting the inquisitor as a representative of a Roman faith that knocked awkwardly and brutally against a synthetic, natural lay piety, these figures were intended in part to unify a sacralized repression—itsself piety for

inquisitors—with lay devotion. The evidence of success is not persuasive, although there were two active lay confraternities in Italy under the patronage of Peter Martyr, the Society of St. Peter Martyr and the Society of the Faith. The former was a traditional confraternity, gathering men and women throughout western Europe as benefactors of churches or chapels dedicated to Peter Martyr. Members of the latter, however, acted as lay officers of inquisition, meeting regularly, publicly disputing with heretics, attempting to persuade reluctant communes to adopt and enforce antiheretical statutes, and preparing for potential combat. Yearly on the saint's feast day, the confraternity in Florence commemorated its violent battle with heretics in 1245.¹⁰⁷ These suggest a more subtle and complex relationship between inquisitorial activity and lay piety, in which an inquisitor could act as a focus for piety rather than a weapon against it. As we saw in the previous chapter, the very problem of discernment with which inquisitors grappled regularly could result in lay piety's moving in harmony with some premises of inquisition, even if it rejected both individual decisions and general hegemony.

The lessons remain of how models of Christian holiness can shift and respond to circumstance, and how a saint could be imported into, derive from, and serve as a symbol of, the contested Christianities of medieval heresy inquisitions. As we saw above, Antoine Dondaine asserted that his own interest was to apprehend the "real" Peter Martyr: "it is necessary to dispel the shadows . . . they hide from us the true saint . . . the truth itself suffices" to prove Peter's sanctity. To Dondaine, de-emphasizing the role of Peter's death in his canonization and celebrating his virtues was important to establish Peter's "true" saintly character.¹⁰⁸ Yet these ostensibly adumbrating images are most telling. The historian cannot determine "true," transhistorical saintly qualities, editing those that might no longer contribute to a saintly reputation. In the inquisitors that Dominican historians, hagiographers, and leadership promoted (however successfully) as saints, we see the mutability of criteria for holiness in various periods. That some medieval churchmen sincerely presented dead inquisitors as saints, just as Dondaine argued for alternative, more "true" criteria for sanctity, reminds us that holiness can mean and accommodate different things in particular contexts, and in the service of particular religious projects. Bernard Gui would likely argue that to emphasize Peter of Verona's asceticism at the expense of his martyrdom was itself the casting of shadows. In these Dominican models of holiness, we see the Christianity that argued for heresy's sinful error and the certainty of God's punishment, but also the

piety of a persecution that helped form this Christianity, a faith that produced holy inquisitors. We indeed witness lay disagreement in the making of “martyrs”—an unpleasantly ironic result for those who supported an inquisitor’s killing as justice—and in the rejection of this status. What did it mean to be a saint? What constituted Christian holiness? That instability was not just manifested over historical time, but was vivid in a synchronic medieval moment, another struggle lifted to the surface by inquisition. But to these Dominicans, there was the clarity of that transcendent and inescapable community, governed by a God who wielded his own violence, his own punishments, upon those who denied its truth and jurisdiction. Another skeptic in a miracle tale discovered this when he saucily remarked that if Peter Martyr were a saint, then God should strike him dead. He was soon trampled by a horse.¹⁰⁹ We will later see further manifestations of that divine violence in inquisitorial practice. For now, it should not surprise us that this God allowed his saints, and their inquisitorial brethren, to do the same.

CHAPTER 3

The Burning Torch

PETER OF VERONA, and his dead colleagues likewise presented by Dominican brethren as saints, provided the order with a past that arose from, and readily contributed to, the constructive interpenetration of inquisition and medieval Christianity. We have seen that despite the many diverse connections among inquisition, repression, and holiness that clerics wove in this hagiology, many laypeople rejected the claim that to die in the employ of inquisition was to die for the faith. Yet proclaiming a slain inquisitor a saint still required, perhaps, less work than its opposite: transforming a saint into an inquisitor. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, several Dominicans—some who were and some who were not themselves heresy inquisitors—increasingly revised their founder Dominic Guzmán's historical role as combatant against heresy.¹ The saint who did not have an inquisitorial past, but who was nevertheless thematically apposite because of the nature of his own earthly ministry against heresy as well as the dominance of his order in inquisitorial activity, was provided with one. An “inquisitorialized” Dominic, like other inquisitor saints, could seek to feed from the rich and substantial lay devotion to saints in the Middle Ages, here with the possibly greater foundation of a genuine core of piety onto which the crust of inquisitorial identity was gradually overlaid. As with those inquisitor saints, the movement of this evolution was cyclical, as the saint sacralized an office that grew more prominent in the rationale for his saintly character. However, here there is less evidence of lay resistance, and greater dominance of the interplay of inquisition, holy exemplarity, and Christian time. Here

the protean past was a versatile, adaptable tool in the expression and formation of explicitly Christian meanings for inquisition.

Like that of all saints, Dominic's history was both static and dynamic; his "history" was never complete, as his very death merely increased his holy *virtus*, and he continued to work in the world. As Dominic had reputedly said on his deathbed, he would be more useful to his brethren dead than alive.² The friars were repeatedly instructed by general chapters to report any new miracles, including by those in Cologne in 1245, in Milan in 1255, in Trier in 1289, and in London in 1314.³ But any saint's miraculous present was necessarily dependent upon his past, on a life that merited, foreshadowed, or even already displayed holy power. Dominic's past belonged to the brothers, and not just in the sense that he stood at the temporal beginning of their order and thus could never be disentangled from it. His life's retroactive reshapings and reinterpretations in history and hagiography had a unique ability to reflect and to endorse the brothers' present identity, and to defend the order's evolutions in strategy, custom, and direction. There is, for example, evidence that the order responded to its struggles in the mid-thirteenth century—opposition from other clergy, troubles at the University of Paris—by editing Dominic's past and by celebrating its models for emulation in Gerard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*. And the peculiar ministry of inquisition placed the brothers within a particularly heated atmosphere of contestation.⁴ As we will see also with the death penalty, reinterpretation of Dominic's past meant that change—the increasingly prominent place of inquisition in the order's practice and identity after 1231—was represented as stasis. Although Dominic was not an inquisitor, his order's inquisitorial identity reflected back upon and reshaped him.

This move points both to the persistent instability of a saint's identity and to its dialogue with the particular earthly-heavenly religious world of the devout. The conscious negotiation of sainthood with a community, and the choice of models, about which Aviad Kleinberg has spoken relate to another phenomenon: the protean character of the saint, the instability of his image, through not only his continuing activity after death in miracle and intercession, but also the reinterpretation, the readjustment, of his history. That mutable past was in dialogue with current needs, circumstances, and identities of the present. What made Dominic holy, how that holiness manifested itself, and the uses to which that holiness was put depended upon the context of his describers. In the case of Dominic, historical distance closed between

his personal, germinal model and friars' embrace of inquisitions. As inquisition became more "holy," more solidly entrenched in the order's present, or as its holiness was asserted more aggressively to engage circumstance, Dominic and his past evolved accordingly. Thus while the saint was appealed to in order to defend inquisition as holy, conversely his own holiness, built from his earthly example, was vulnerable to the evolution of inquisition itself.⁵ Those both within and beyond the order were told that inquisition was neither accretion nor perversion of the original ministry from which the order was born; rather, to some Dominican writers, it became the original ministry, which the founding saint had carried out in life, and still did after death.

This evolution resulted less from the experience of contestation that created inquisitorial "martyrs" and more from friars' conceptions of fighting heresy, the past, history, and Christian time. Those Dominican historians who transformed their founder into a heresy inquisitor did not cavalierly toy with his past in order to glaze coruscantly their present. But as the living Dominic was never an *inquisitor hereticae pravitatis*, how should we resolve the problems these histories initially appear to present of fact and fiction, honesty and dishonesty, sincerity and insincerity? We might even credit such reinterpretations to simple unsophistication and lack of modern "scientific" historical training.⁶ Yet several contextualized dynamics were at play in this recasting by Dominican authors involved with inquisition: most important, the informing religious genius of their historical methodology. Dominic "became" an inquisitor to encourage amid trouble, and also because the purposes of inquisition (reconciliation and punishment) appeared to apply to his living ministry. But what we glimpse are not tactical interpretations or failures of skill, but rather a methodology of approaching and narrating the past that replicated the methodology of inquisition and was infused by its peculiar Christian piety. We see among these Dominicans a different engagement of the past, of history, with time and with truth. The form and content of the past itself was governed by—and vulnerable before—the very transcendent, divine truth promoted by inquisition. Details were handmaidens to Christian truth generally and the truth of combat against heresy specifically. In this methodology of obedience, the coordinates and premises of the universal *ecclesia* predominated, and a contextualized idea of Christian soteriological temporality and eternity, and of the order's "time" against heresy, retroactively revised the text of the past.⁷

Canonization, Devotion, and Fighting Heresy

Dominic's canonization provided the seed for later inquisitorial re-visionings of the saint and of the order's history. His death in 1221 was hardly followed by an outpouring of acclaim and devotion, within or beyond the order, for an ostensible new saint; there was neither move for formal canonization nor a vibrant popular cult. According to Jordan of Saxony, Dominic's successor as head of the order, only after years of the friars' disinterest and neglect did Gregory IX reproach their lack of "honor" and order a translation of Dominic's body in 1233. The exhumed remains exuded the *odor sanctitatis*, and a few months later Gregory officially appointed three clerics to investigate the life and miracles of Dominic, whose brilliant light confounded "the perverse dogma of heretics" and increased "the blessed credulity of the faithful." After formal investigations in Bologna and Toulouse, Dominic was formally canonized on July 3, 1234, with Gregory's bull *Fons sapientiae*.⁸

Various explanations have been given for why, after several years of Dominican and papal torpor, Dominic was canonized in 1234. The Dominican historian M.-H. Vicaire loosely linked Dominic's canonization with the popular devotional surge known as the *alleluia* movement, which simultaneously spread through several Italian cities, contending that it was the logical legacy of Dominic's apostolate and thus aroused people to recognize his personal holiness.⁹ The *alleluia* movement was certainly a factor in the "discovery" of Dominic's sanctity. This intense wave of penance and fervent piety, which swept throughout the Italian laity from 1230 (when Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II made the treaty of San Germano) until about 1234, was encouraged by both Franciscans and Dominicans, who toured Italian cities preaching peace, forgiveness, penitence, charity, and continence. The laity responded to this ministry with enthusiastic attendance at sermons, promises of change, and heightened devotion; more significantly, the mendicant orders enjoyed increased publicity, popular support, and even political influence. Many of the movement's successful preachers were invested with civic power and great personal authority after popular pressure on civil authorities, as friars were perceived as relatively unbiased participants in factional conflict. The Dominican John of Vicenza, a brother from Bologna, reputedly began to call himself "duke and perpetual rector" of Verona.¹⁰ Notably, from these positions of power mendicants oversaw the revision of city statutes to benefit ecclesiastical interests. Their power, and the direction of its deployment,

demonstrates the strength of this devotional movement, but also the impossibility of distinguishing neatly between “political” and “religious” interests and motives.

Dominicans prominent in the *alleluia* movement interwove its calls to peace and devotion with the fight against heresy in manifold ways. André Vauchez has argued that the eradication of heresy was a prominent goal in the various activities of the *alleluia* preachers, who well knew Gregory IX’s wishes in this matter. That revision of city statutes was a key opportunity. Mendicants commonly implemented antiheresy policies in civic law, including the institution of the death penalty for heresy and the formation of civic councils to assist inquisitions, in their areas of influence. For example, Peter of Verona effected the insertion of measures against heresy into the statutes of Milan in 1233–1234.¹¹ With the prodding of mendicants, cities were also stirred to apprehend heretics; John of Vicenza, upon taking power in Verona, burned there sixty persons.¹² In addition, friars harnessed the lay piety aroused by the movement and deployed it against heresy. The Dominican Bartolomeo of Vicenza, who helped to begin the *alleluia* movement in Parma, founded in 1233 a new military order, the Militia of Jesus Christ, to combat heretics. This militia recruited among the urban nobility, while the Society of the Faith, an antiheretical confraternity formed in Milan in 1232, sought its personnel among the urban bourgeoisie. (We have already encountered this confraternity, placed under the patronage of Peter Martyr; see Chapter 2.)¹³ And as Dominic’s canonization proceedings in Bologna show, the brothers in Italy linked the *alleluia*’s efforts against heresy to his nascent sanctity. The order’s influential preachers expressly promoted Dominic’s holiness in their sermons, helping to foment a cult amid the stirred populace. For example, as Friar Stephen of Spain testified in the proceedings, John of Vicenza lent both his political influence and his own holy reputation to the project of increasing popular devotion to Dominic: “He began to preach the revelation made to him from above about brother Dominic, and to announce his life, conversation, and sanctity to the people.”¹⁴ While we do not know how the content of John’s preaching specifically linked that “life, conversation, and sanctity” to the fight against heresy, we do know that John’s ministry posited opposition to heresy as proof of devotion and holiness. His own holy reputation, after all, included his numerous executions in Verona. John’s promotion of Dominic as saint within the context of that ministry gave its fight against heresy a potentially powerful ally: the founder of an order that had accomplished such won-

ders in Italy, and a holy man about whom God himself had spoken to John. It also defined Dominic's sanctity in a particular way, binding it to this wave of devotion and also to violence against heretics.

More important, Stephen testified in the Bologna proceedings to the spectacular results of John's promotion of Dominic's sanctity. Stephen neatly bound together Dominic's holiness, the recent *alleluia* movement, the spiritual fortunes of the order, and the eradication of heresy:

He firmly believes that the grace that in these times was conferred upon the Friars Preachers in Lombardy, and also in other provinces, was conferred or even augmented by the prayers and merits of Brother Dominic. Asked why he believes this, he responded that from that time, after Brother John of Vincenza began to preach the revelation made to him from heaven about Brother Dominic, and to announce his life, conversation, and sanctity to the people, and [Stephen], with certain brothers, began to discuss the translation of the aforesaid Brother Dominic's body, from then on manifestly there shone forth and appeared more grace, both in the brothers who preached his life and sanctity and also in the people who heard them. [This] is clear through the effect in the cities of Lombardy, in which the greatest multitude of heretics was burned, and more than 100,000 people, who did not know whether they ought to adhere to the Roman church or to the heretics, were sincerely converted to the catholic faith of the Roman church by the preachings of the Friars Preachers. And he knew this because those converted ones now pursue and abhor the heretics whom they originally defended. And almost all the cities of Lombardy and the Marches deliver their acts and statutes into [the] hands [of the friars], to be ordered and changed at [their] will, so that they might erase, add, diminish, and change, according to what seemed expeditious to them.¹⁵

Stephen offered not only the success of the *alleluia* movement generally, but also those burnings and the conversions of heretics (who then apparently betrayed their former coreligionists) as evidence for Dominic's sanctity. Execution and conversion were signs of God's grace, dispensed through and for Dominic; Dominic "prayed" for these results and God effected them through his merits. The friars' preaching of Dominic as saint came first, and success against heresy was its support and reward; Dominic's sanctity both resulted in,

and was proved by, the burnings. We also see here the role of sanctity in discernment, as Stephen implied that Dominic's patent holiness (and likely the burnings that resulted from it) impressed upon those confused by the heretics' assumed piety (those "who did not know" to whom "they ought to adhere") who possessed God's truth. Dominican activities against heresy during the *alleluia* movement—not only "preachings" but also implementing civil statutes and supervising execution—redounded to Dominic. By proving his sanctity, they were themselves sacralized as part of God's strategy against heresy. Stephen's testimony went on to place these burnings in continuity with the order's very foundation: "as he understood it . . . Dominic came to the region of Toulouse with the bishop of Osma to preach, especially against the heretics. And there he instituted and ordained the order of Friars Preachers." Dominic had preached during his life; after his death he guided the brothers in both preaching and more aggressive methods. All served the same purpose. As Stephen recounted about his own profession to the young order, Dominic had clothed him in the habit, saying "I want to give you arms with which you must fight against the devil your entire life."¹⁶ As the friars argued through and in the *alleluia* movement, preaching, devotion, instruction, conversion, execution, and recognition of Dominic's sainthood all contributed to that holy fight.

Other than the explicit connections that Stephen made among sanctity, *alleluia*, and heresy, Dominic's antiheretical activities were otherwise scarcely cited by the Dominicans testifying in Bologna. John of Spain did aver that Dominic "was loved by all, except heretics and enemies of the church, whom in his disputations and preachings he pursued and convicted." But witnesses' repeated descriptions of Dominic as *zelator animarum* and *zelator salutis humani generis* did not specify the dangers of heresy.¹⁷ This differed strikingly from the canonization proceedings that took place in Toulouse, where activity against heresy was much more prevalent in testimony of the Dominican and non-Dominican witnesses. Pons de St Victor, Cistercian abbot of Boulbonne and former archdeacon of Toulouse, "knew that he was zealous for souls, fervent in prayer and preaching, persecutor of heretics." A sacristan from Pamiers "saw and heard that the lord Dominic was an assiduous persecutor of heretics and a refutor both by word and example." According to Guillaume Petri, abbot of St. Paul in Narbonne, "he was a persecutor of heretics, and he opposed himself to them by preaching, disputing, and in all things that he could." A laywoman, Berengaria, claimed that she had wit-

nessed Dominic's miraculous summons of a fiendish, grotesque cat in order to prove to nine women recently "converted from error" heresy's diabolical alliances and origins.¹⁸

The dissimilarity between the two canonization processes in Bologna and Toulouse may have resulted from the different states of the fight against heresy in Italy and in southern France in the summer of 1233. There was no *alleluia* movement in Toulouse, no mendicant-led wave of lay devotion aroused and then deployed against heresy. There were, instead, the enormous difficulties of installing inquisitors in southern France amid resistance. The proceedings there in August, 1233, took place only four months after Gregory IX had reissued *Ille humani generis* for southern France, appointing some Dominicans as inquisitors. But Gregory's wish to establish Dominicans as inquisitors in southern France was not easily realized. In the months between the papal commission in April and Dominic's canonization proceedings in August of 1233, Gregory had sought to install inquisitors amid opposition from the Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, from supporters of the "good men," and also from local clergy. In July he had appointed Jean de Bernin as papal legate in order to prepare the way for Dominican inquisitors, but Jean did not reach Toulouse until the beginning of 1234, and only appointed the first Dominicans in January and February of that year. The new inquisitors were immediately confronted with resistance to their work. The uprising in Albi, in which townspeople attacked inquisitor Arnaud Cathala after he sought to exhume a dead heretic, took place on June 15, 1234, only a few weeks before the formal canonization of Dominic, this "persecutor of heretics," on July 3.¹⁹

Thus Dominic's translation at Pentecost in 1233 occurred soon after Gregory's first commissions of Dominicans as inquisitors in 1231 and about a month after the extension of these commissions to Languedoc, and his canonization in 1234 occurred amid that effort's troubled beginnings there. It would be surprising if the pope, whom Jordan of Saxony described as scolding some Dominicans for their neglect before ordering Dominic's translation, was unaware of or uninterested in the holy encouragement that the founder's canonization could give to the efforts against heresy to which his order had been entrusted. Gregory, longtime promoter both of the order and of heresy inquisitions, surely credited that "persecutor of heretics" with sanctity because of that ministry, and he also surely recognized that Dominic's sanctity could be a persuasive argument for the office's pious justice. Gregory's *Fons*

sapientiae praised Dominic's zeal, at which "every sect of heretics trembled, every church of the faithful exulted"; it also described his holy ministry in language used by *Ille humani generis* and other antiheretical texts on inquisition, notably the venerable imagery of little foxes spoiling the vines. Resemblances between the bull commissioning Dominicans as inquisitors and the bull canonizing the order's founder demonstrate that the pope saw Dominic's sanctity, the order's mission, and inquisition as interrelated, or at least wished publicly to draw connections among them.²⁰ (It is worth recalling that this canonization gave the order its first, and for a time its only, saint; another—an inquisitor—would not join him for almost twenty years.) But the connections the brothers themselves made between Dominic's sanctity and the fight against heresy are more significant, as the different emphases in the canonization procedures might be credited to the great difference between the state of inquisitions in Italy and in southern France. Stephen of Spain and John of Vicenza, flush with the practical success of the *alleluia* movement, were momentarily more optimistic about combatting heresy. They saw the fruits of these efforts against heresy in numerous conversions and executions and referred them to Dominic's intercession, positing him as the saintly instigator of this undoubtedly saintly work. God's enemies were burned; those in the dark saw the light; he who both supplicated God for help and founded the order that accomplished such things must be holy. Both Dominic and the fight against heresy were cyclically professed as such. Yet Stephen did not emphasize Dominic's past as an opponent of heresy. Other witnesses in Bologna likewise saw no reason to do so. Other than the "preaching" done by Dominic and Diego of Osma, it was the dead saint, not the living man, who was linked to executions and conversions.

On the other hand, the more troubled attempts to establish Dominicans as inquisitors in southern France meant that the Toulouse witnesses (unlike those in Bologna, not all Dominicans or even clergy) had no such boasting to make and no spectacular evidence of Dominic's saintly *virtus* working to suppress heresy. Of course, Dominic's earthly ministry in Toulouse was associated with heresy more than was his time in Bologna. But inquisition's difficulties in the 1230s may have ironically resulted in witnesses' expansion, revision, or emphasis of Dominic's efforts during his lifetime against heresy, as his zeal for souls was always in part manifested by his "persecution" of heretics. Amid much resistance to incipient inquisitorial activity in their region—a resistance that manifested itself also in attacks on Dominican communities, including

expulsion from Toulouse in 1235—the Toulousan supporters of Dominic's sanctity asserted the consistency and congruity of these new duties with Dominic's own model and the order's foundational ministry. Dominic provided a precedent for his friar inquisitors, and the extirpation of heresy was holy if performed by a saint, just as Dominic's efforts against heresy were cited as evidence for sanctity. Dominic's opposition to heresy played a small role in both canonization proceedings. But they point to the ways in which conceptions of Dominic as a saint already interacted with their inquisitorial context, and inquisition's increasing prominence in the order's present would soon lead to its increased prominence in the founder's past.

Reading to the Brothers

After years of apathy toward Dominic, the order promoted its first saint with great energy. This promotion, as with other saints, included the composition of *legendae* that were read to the brothers liturgically or at table for devotion and edification. The “internal” celebrations of the saint through *legendae* were an efficient way to cultivate identity within the order, to encourage, to offer a model, and to articulate to the brothers the special content and character of the Dominican mission. Images of opposition to heresy appearing in the *legendae* could serve especially to reflect and to nurture the brothers' sense that these duties were a means piously to protect God's truth, and that this work was traditional within the order. The first account of Dominic, which appeared in Jordan of Saxony's history of the young order, *Libellus de principiis ordinis praedicatorum* (c. 1234), was not overly interested in heresy. Jordan did report Diego of Osma's angry prophecy of the Albigensian Crusade, invoking Job 2:5 (“Lord, put forth your hand and touch [them]”); Dominic's frequent threatening by heretics; and two famous tales: Dominic's conversion of his heretical host, and the “miracle of the book.” In the latter, at a disputation between Dominic and heretics at which both sides produced books containing the “reasons and authorities” for their respective faiths, the judges to whom the books were given could not decide which faith was true. An “ordeal” was suggested in which both books would be cast into a fire; the one that did not burn contained the true faith. Although the heretics' book was quickly consumed, Dominic's leapt from the flames, “openly demonstrat[ing] both the truth of the faith and the sanctity of him who wrote the book.”²¹ Yet Jordan's

chief intent for such accounts was to provide evidence for that sanctity, not to attack heresy, which was far overshadowed by other narrative concerns. However, the *legendae* of Dominic that followed Jordan of Saxony's first life—by Pedro Ferrando (1235–1239), Constantine of Orvieto (c. 1246) and Humbert of Romans (proclaimed the official life in 1260)—offered accounts of Dominic's past that increasingly heightened and revised his role as opponent of heresy. These revisions were in dialogue with particular aspects of the contestation against inquisition's claim to uphold God's truth, most notably the common and serious practical challenge of discerning between true and false Christianity and persuading others that Catholic clerics alone enjoyed that ability. The authors of *legendae* "inquisitorialized" Dominic's activity, and this revision helped encouragingly to define that work as holy and traditional for the brothers themselves confronted by the practical obstructions of establishment and efficacy.

A close successor to Jordan's *Libellus*, the *legenda* credited to the little-known Spanish Dominican Pedro Ferrando (composed between 1235 and 1239) demonstrated greater interest in the interrelationship of heresy and Dominic's sanctity.²² Its more aggressive presentation of the order as a kind of apocalyptic rescue mission, sent in the last days to remind Christians of the coming judgment, saw heresy as one of the spiritual dangers that Dominic had been intended to eradicate, retroactively wrapping heresy in prophecy. Jordan's *Libellus* had recounted that Dominic's pregnant mother Joanna experienced a vision of a dog carrying a burning torch in its mouth, which Jordan interpreted as foretelling the order's special preaching mission. He later described the Dominican Reginald of Orléans's sermons as a "burning torch" and Reginald as a "new Elijah," an allusion to Ecclesiasticus 48:1 ("Et surrexit Helias propheta quasi ignis et verbum ipsius quasi fax ardebat").²³ However, in his *legenda*, Pedro not only ascribed all of this imagery to Dominic, but also explicitly incorporated heresy within it. The dog in Joanna's vision signified a preacher, like Elijah, whose words burned like a torch, but more specifically foreordained Dominic as an "attacker of heresies." To Pedro, the vision symbolized how "with the barking of zealous preaching, [Dominic] would keep the wolves from the flocks." Pedro narrated the beginning of the ministry that would become the Order of Preachers in similarly evocative terms: Dominic arrived in Toulouse, knowing that "the inhabitants of that place had long since been corrupted with the infection of heretical pravity." A key moment in the order's origins—the calculated adoption of the apostolic life to oppose

heresy—followed suit. Pedro repeated the common wolves/sheep imagery when describing Dominic's dismay at heretics' assumed, false piety. Dominic's self-conscious wish to provide an exemplar of orthodox probity resulted from his awareness that heretics, "rapacious wolves," who "made a claim with the assumed clothing of sheepskin," led many "to error" who were "misled by [their] crafty superstition." Although the Cistercians sent to "repel heretical poison" by preaching in the Midi failed with their supercilious pomp, the pious simplicity of the *vita apostolica* might "call back to the truth of the faith the souls that heretics deluded with the image of false virtue."²⁴ These evocations of wolves and sheep importantly alluded to traditional imagery for the confrontation of heresy and orthodoxy, deployed in many antiheretical and inquisitorial texts.²⁵ Here the iterated matter of discernment was embedded in the moment's origin, or through Joanna's vision even before it.

Pedro Ferrando similarly structured his account of the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade. In his *Libellus*, Jordan of Saxony had recounted not only the putative need for force to suppress the "untamable rebellion of heretics," but also Diego of Osma's angry wish that God would strike down inflexible heretics, interpreted by Jordan as a prophecy of the crusade.²⁶ Pedro expanded these accounts, introducing harsher language as well as familiar biblical imagery. Innocent III, certain that "stiff-necked" heretics could never be returned by preaching and conversation, determined on force, "so that the material sword might wholly cut off those unfruitful vines, whom the sword of the word of God could not confute, before they demolished the vineyard of the lord Sabaoth." Diego's prophecy of the crusade was likewise born of frustration; "he could avert their minds from the insanity of error by no persuasion," nor separate them from the "follies of their blasphemies." Pedro Ferrando's *legenda* amplified the rhetoric against heretics and alluded at least obliquely to earlier antiheretical texts that had used a body of biblical imagery of deception, secrecy, and diabolic sabotage. But it did not seriously depart from Jordan's depiction of Dominic's sanctity as the result of a diffuse ministry and personal piety, and, more specifically, of an approach to heresy always suffused with "charity." (His version of the miracle of the book adopted Jordan's language of confusion over which book was "more rational.")²⁷ While Pedro distinctly sharpened the antiheretical rhetoric, what it meant for Dominic to be an "attacker of heresies" remained largely static.²⁸

This would change with Constantine, bishop of Orvieto, who wrote his *Legenda* (1246–1247) at the request of Dominican master general John of

Wildeshausen.²⁹ While his legend lifted many passages verbatim from Pedro Ferrando, it also made some significant additions to Dominic's biography. The gentle apostolic ministry was still predominant: Constantine explicitly described Dominic's conversion "with kind and evangelical persuasion" of his heretical host, whom "he presented to the lord as a certain handful of first fruits of the future harvest to be gathered by him."³⁰ When Constantine recounted the miracle of the book, he cleverly compared it to a biblical example of God's truth preserved in fire and hence proved to unbelievers: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego kept unharmed in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3).³¹ Yet Constantine also added two new accounts to the earlier *legendae*, both of which demonstrated how Dominic's holy *virtus* had been displayed during his lifetime as part of God's efforts to eradicate heresy. The first was Constantine's generous expansion of the brief testimony that had been given by the laywoman Berengaria in the canonization proceedings in Toulouse in 1233, in which she claimed Dominic's miraculous summons of a demonic cat. According to Constantine, the miracle happened, significantly, just after Dominic had finished a sermon at Fanjeaux in which he, "proving the catholic faith, condemned in many ways the perfidy of heretics." While Dominic prayed in the church, nine noblewomen approached, troubled by the sermon's implications. If he spoke truly, they were blinded by a spirit of error, and were wrong to follow those they called "good men." The heretics asked Dominic to "Pray to your Lord God, so that he might make known to us his faith, in which we should live, die, and be saved." Dominic assured them that God, who "wants no one to perish," would disclose "to what kind of lord you have been devoted until now." Immediately a giant cat appeared, with flaming eyes and a bloody tongue; its short, raised tail disclosed the "foulness of its hindquarters . . . from which an intolerable stink breathed out." After climbing up the church's bell-rope and falling, the cat disappeared, "leaving fetid traces after itself." Dominic carefully interpreted this apparition for its spectators (and thus for Constantine's hearers): "by this that, at God's doing, appeared figuratively before your eyes, you may perceive what kind of thing it is that you, in following heretics, have served thus far." The women straightaway returned to the Roman church, and some joined the order's community at Prouilhe, founded to house former heretical women.³²

In Berengaria's original testimony, the heretics had already converted before the appearance of the giant, hideous cat.³³ The element of suspense (would they save themselves by converting?) added by Constantine empha-

sized the laity's enormous difficulty in discriminating between good and evil, the limits of preaching in discernment—even Dominic's was insufficient—and the fact that only holy power could inarguably persuade some people that a seemingly pious heresy was false. The women apparently needed no further information after the grotesque apparition to understand that it proved heresy was satanic, and to abandon it. Their confidence in which belief was allied to God had been faulty, but their intentions to follow God's truth were not. The horrifying representation of the heretics' "lord" as the demonic cat, pungently material with physicality, stripped away the compelling façade of the heretics' piety. Constantine chose an excellent miracle to expand in his *legenda*, as this tale presented the living Dominic as deploying his holy *virtus* in order to solve the problem of discernment. And Constantine himself pushed Dominic's exposition within the tale further: although he did not have time to explain in detail the significance of the cat in all its components—he had undertaken to "weave a history," not prepare a sermon—he would only add quickly that "feminine minds defrauded by error" were impressed more powerfully by a vision of the eyes rather than words in the ear. He left the tale with an editorial comment, reminding his readers rather poetically about heresy's satanic alliances: "No form is so deformed and horrible that it is not properly congruent with that deformed thing, which, although it was a seal of divine likeness, was made through pride an infernal spectacle." Constantine, then, was a bit disingenuous. His "history" was indeed a kind of sermon, preaching Dominic's sanctity as well as the diabolism of heresy, a diabolism that like the problems of discernment persisted and challenged the friar inquisitors' daily work.³⁴

Despite its crucial expansions, this miracle did not associate Dominic himself with inquisition. Constantine's second and more important addition to extant *legendae*, on the other hand, was less spectacular as miracle, but furnished a better opportunity to present Dominic retroactively at most as a proto-inquisitor, and at least as sanguine about the execution of heretics. This miracle tale, intended to illustrate Dominic's prophetic power, reported that when Dominic was preaching in Toulouse, "certain heretics seized and convicted by him" did not wish to abjure their heresy and were handed over to the secular arm to be burned. Dominic asked that one, Raymond Gros, be kept from the flames, predicting that he would one day be "a good man." Although Raymond, released from his imminent death, remained a heretic for another twenty years, he eventually vindicated Dominic by converting and

joining the Order of Preachers.³⁵ We see here a different application of holy *virtus* to the problem of discerning between good and evil, as Dominic was able to determine who would return piously in the future—a determination possible because of his sanctity, and one that helped to prove it, resembling those miracles we saw earlier in which holy power acts “inquisitorially.” More important, Constantine’s description of Dominic’s interaction with the heretics before they were handed over to secular justice—*captos et per eum convictos*—is striking. *Convincere* here undoubtedly meant only that Dominic identified them as committed heretics (instead of pious Catholics), rather than convincing them of their error or convicting them in a formally legal sense. Yet that was indeed how inquisitors used the term.³⁶ *Capere* is more difficult to interpret in a way consistent with (and restricted to) the traditional apostolic ministry. Constantine presented Dominic’s personal “seizing” and “convicting” as the temporal prologue and immediate cause of their burning, and he did not depict the saint as troubled by the execution of those heretics whom, unlike Raymond Gros, he did not foresee ever converting. A master of discernment in present (the fetid cat) and future (Raymond), Dominic seized, identified, and then calmly handed over recalcitrant heretics to the secular arm to be burned.

Constantine offered no specific source for the Raymond Gros account, which may have resulted from the general chapter’s recent call (1245) for reports of any new miracles performed by Dominic.³⁷ For the cat story, he cited his source as *in eisdem partibus Tolosanis per testes iuratos inventum est*; either he or others had apparently layered details upon Berengaria’s canonization testimony from 1233.³⁸ In addition, while this miracle did not claim Dominic to be an inquisitor, merely arguing that God channeled holy power at Dominic’s appeal to prove heresy’s diabolical alliances, it was likely influenced by earlier imagery. Berengaria’s original tale, and much more so Constantine’s expansion of it, echoed two antiheretical ancestors. The English chronicler Walter Map, in his *De nugis curialium* (c. 1180), reported that “Publicans or Patarines” meeting secretly would receive a visit from a freakishly large black cat who climbed down to them from a rope—a notable similarity of detail (in reverse) with Constantine’s version—whereupon they kissed the cat on various parts of its anatomy.³⁹ In addition, Berengaria and Constantine echoed an etymology given by the French Cistercian Alan of Lille (d. 1202) in his *De fide catholica*: “Or they are called ‘Cathars’ from ‘cat,’ because . . . they kiss the hindquarters of a cat, in whose image . . . Lucifer appears to them.”⁴⁰ More

specifically and strikingly, Constantine's expanded account of the miracle reported by Berengaria resembles Gregory IX's *Vox in Rama*, written in 1233 to archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, the bishop of Hildesheim, and the famous inquisitor Conrad of Marburg, exhorting them to action against a group of Rhineland heretics. According to Gregory, the heretics' initiation ritual featured, among other shocking acts of sacrilege, kissing the posterior of a large black cat with a lifted tail.⁴¹ While we cannot determine whether Constantine was directly influenced by this text when representing a demonic cat as the "lord" of heretics, the similarity of his description associated Dominic with the biblical tradition of holy violence that (as we will see) Gregory recalled in *Vox in Rama*. It also demonstrates, as did Gregory's *Fons sapientiae*, the penetration into Dominican hagiography of familiar antiheretical rhetoric.

Whatever the degree of Constantine's originality in crafting these two tales, their content and novelty are powerfully telling. It is not surprising that Dominic's sanctity was used in both tales to solve the difficult and common problem of discernment, or that the saint was depicted as approving of the execution of the hopelessly recalcitrant. Constantine composed his *legenda* during another particularly difficult time for the Dominicans in southern France, who were then embroiled in a serious conflict with Innocent IV over their participation in inquisitions. After the killing of Guillaume Arnaud and his colleagues at Avignonet in 1242, the brothers had asked to be relieved of their inquisitorial duties. While Innocent had refused this request, he did briefly suspend the office in 1245—a year the order's general chapter appealed for fresh miracles—after various complaints against the inquisitors. In 1249, Dominicans were no longer conducting inquisitions in southern France, after disputes with the pope about jurisdiction and independence. Only after Count Alphonse of Toulouse began to intervene in the conflict in 1251, and Alexander IV ascended to the papacy at Innocent's death in 1254, would the Dominicans reassume their duties.⁴² Constantine's new images of Dominic as an opponent of heresy were recorded after the first brief suspension in 1245, but when the tensions that would lead to the Dominicans' second, longer, removal from the office in southern France were still high. And while Dominicans were still active as inquisitors in Italy in the late 1240s, they were personally vulnerable to attacks by heretics and supporters in the cities, as Peter of Verona's murder would soon demonstrate in 1252. Constantine of Orvieto's additions to the earlier *legendae* responded to these problems that inquisitors and other friars experienced on the ground in a still uneasy period

for Dominicans. In the two tales God himself asserted, through the living Dominic's saintly *virtus*, that discernment was easily resolved; heresy was satanic; the stubborn could be justifiably executed. The presentation of Dominic's sanctity as confronting (and solving) these difficulties could encourage the brothers active against heresy by providing them with the most holy exemplar for their work; during his lifetime the saint had himself grappled with the problem of persuading confused Christians tempted by diabolism, and had himself handed over to be burned those who refused to be persuaded. Again we see how the sacralizing of inquisition partly responded to circumstance, as Dominic's increasingly strong association with *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* began to revise the office itself as traditional in the order.

As we saw from his preface to Gerard de Fracher's *Vitae fratrum*, Humbert of Romans was sensitive to the order's external opposition and convinced of the consequent need to encourage the brothers. Humbert's own *legenda* of Dominic (1247–1257), like that of Constantine, drew heavily on Pedro Ferrando's earlier work. In 1260, the Order of Preachers established Humbert's *Legenda* as the official life of Dominic, in theory forbidding future composition of the saint's legend.⁴³ Humbert's *Legenda* could be extremely influential in crafting an image of Dominic by superceding previous versions and by theoretically precluding future ones. It was the basis for Dominic's feast day liturgy, and was regularly read aloud at meals for the brothers' edification. Humbert adopted Pedro Ferrando's praise of Dominic as "attacker of heresies" for the second lection of the saint's feast; elsewhere he repeated his predecessor's rather acid descriptions of the Albigeois "corrupted with the infection of heretical pravity"—to which Humbert added "pestiferous"—of Cistercian legates sent to "repel heretical poison" through preaching, and of heretics as demolishers of the Lord's vineyard, to be cut off with the material sword.⁴⁴ The story of Raymond Gros first circulated by Constantine of Orvieto appeared almost verbatim in Humbert's *Legenda* and was one of the brothers' available lections at table, disseminating throughout the order an image of Dominic handing over heretics to the secular arm to be burnt. Humbert made no significant changes in his versions of that prophecy or the miracle of the devilish cat, which was also permitted, but not required, to be a lection at table.⁴⁵

However, Humbert departed strikingly from his predecessors when recounting the famous miracle of the book. While Humbert cursorily mentioned the Fanjeaux version that had appeared in Jordan of Saxony, Pedro

Ferrando, and Constantine (“simile quiddam dicitur contigisse apud Fanum Iovis”), he instead included an alternative story of a miracle at Montréal, borrowed from the Cistercian Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay’s history of the Albigensian Crusade, *Hystoria albigensis* (1212–1218).⁴⁶ In this account, at a disputation in 1207 between “our preachers” and the heretics, Dominic gave to a heretic his written compilation of some “authorities” of the faith. When that evening the heretic produced Dominic’s book among his fellows, they resolved to cast it into the flames for an ordeal by fire. If the book burned, “the faith—rather the faithlessness—of heretics was true”; if it failed to burn, the heretics would acknowledge this display of God’s power and consequently “would confess to be true the faith that our [preachers] preached.” The book was duly cast into the fire, from which it immediately jumped out. One heretic “harder than the others” suggested another try, so “we may test the truth more fully.” After the book’s second unharmed escape, this skeptic, still “hard and slow to believe,” argued that with a third attempt “without a doubt we may know the result of the thing.” The result of this stubbornness was the book’s third leap from the flames.⁴⁷

Humbert’s tale implied that the heretics should have kept their promise to convert, as they recognized and admitted “without a doubt” the theological import of the book’s repeated, miraculous escape from the flames: their faith was false and that of Dominic’s “authorities” true. However, this was not so; “the heretics, [despite] so many signs . . . neither then wished to be converted to the faith, but remaining in their malice, inhibited each other most strictly lest through anyone’s report that miracle reach our notice.”⁴⁸ This account thus agreed with its predecessors that the ordeal proved the Roman church to be God’s community, but it stressed the culpability of heresy as the conscious “choice” of falsehood and the rejection of God. The heretics were convicted not by their inability to perceive God’s truth in the ordeal, but rather by their very refusal of that truth. They were themselves beyond the confusion of discernment that dogged the less committed, instead willfully rejecting the condemnation of heresy that God had made clear through the book’s incombustibility. Moreover, the heretics’ fear of publicly broadcasting the miracle illustrated their malevolent desire to waylay innocent Christians by preserving their public claims to pious truth, while disseminating what they now undoubtedly knew to be falsehood. It is also significant that in Humbert’s account, the book’s “ordeal” in the fire was not necessary to settle an indecisive, ambiguous disputation. In the earlier Fanjeaux version, heresy

and orthodoxy stood rather as equals presenting a case, both subject to fallible and risky human judgment (a subjection that was, as some clerical readers saw it, a bit insulting).⁴⁹ Humbert's choice of Pierre's version dismantled this equality and presented God as sole judge, miraculously confirming the Roman church's truth. The emphasis in the Montréal version was no longer on the ordeal's happy proof in an otherwise inconclusive debate, but rather on the fact that heretics knowingly rejected God's indisputable truth and concealed their rejection. This miracle was another of the *lectiones* to be read by the order, and thus these lessons about the conscious wickedness of heresy (rather than the vulnerability of Catholics and heretics facing as equals) were impressed upon the brothers.⁵⁰

Dominic's sanctity was rather occluded in this version; he merely compiled the book and gave it to the heretics, the "miracle" happened in his absence, and the tale's emphasis rested on heretical wickedness rather than personal holiness. Yet Humbert's account of the tale was indeed intended to serve as evidence for Dominic's holiness. Through, and as a testament to, that sanctity, God proved conclusively the wickedness of the heretics against whom Dominic fought, and that very wickedness also proved its opponent's goodness. Again the problem of discernment was miraculously solved—a problem so troublesome that miracle often seemed to be its sole indubitable solution. By including this version of the miracle rather than the Fanjeaux account—in which the reader is not told how the attending heretics responded to the book's rescue—Humbert was able to stress much more aggressively not only the chosen falsity of heresy, but also heretics' conscious efforts to fool innocent Christians with pretended piety. It was a lesson to the faithful that they could scarcely pierce themselves the false armor of heresy's piety; a lesson to Dominicans that their founder, allied with God, defended the true faith; a lesson to both that present members of the order could reliably discern truth from falsehood. Humbert surely argued here that God himself, rather than fallible humans, was ultimately the supreme judge to whom all were subject, ensuring finally that truth was disclosed. But he also posited members of the order as the earthly conduits of that judgment.

Humbert's revision can be put into the context of his sensitivity about opposition to the order generally and to inquisition more specifically. As we have seen, the problem of discernment was a prominent theme in his model sermons against heresy and for inquisition; heresy was worse than other sins because it masked itself as good; heretics followed their master Satan, who dis-

guised himself as an angel of light. In the *legenda*, the brothers were reminded that by trusting in the holy power of God and his saint (who himself opposed heresy), the disguise could be removed. In addition, Humbert was keenly aware after the killings of Guillaume Arnaud in France in 1242 and Peter of Verona in Italy in 1252 (as well as other incidents of violent opposition) that the problem of discernment posed a very real physical risk to inquisitors. We have seen in Chapter 1 that Humbert warned expressly in *De eruditione predicatorum* that witnesses to inquisitorial sentences and condemnations would often think the church was “excessively cruel” toward persons whom they believed rather to be good and pious. While Humbert recommended a persuasive sermon to allay the crowd’s displeasure, the brothers who delivered those sermons needed to be confident as well about the holy accuracy of that duty. We might see Humbert’s model sermons and his *legenda* as complementary external and internal reassurance that through the sublime (miracle) as well as the prosaic (*inquisitiones*), the mask of false piety fell.

There is great distance between the representations of Dominic as opponent of heresy in Jordan of Saxony’s *Libellus* and in Humbert of Romans’s official *Legenda*. Although the thirteenth-century composers of Dominic’s *legendae* after Jordan were familiar with the products of their predecessors, and in many cases imported earlier text verbatim, their additions of new language, new details, and new tales gradually intensified Dominic’s historical role as an “attacker of heresies” and, concurrently and connectedly, heresy’s character as conscious choice rather than misguided error. These alterations likely responded cleanly (although how consciously is impossible to tell) to the difficulties and vagaries of safely establishing Dominicans as inquisitors from the 1230s to the 1250s. By depicting Dominic as “seizing” heretics, as handing the recalcitrant to be burned, as approving of the “material sword” when persuasion failed, the authors of *legendae* assured inquisitors, and all brothers, that their saintly founder had performed the admittedly controversial, but defensible and salvific, tasks that they now did: tasks that essayed the eradication of “poison” and “corruption” disguised as Christian piety. Their confidence in these tasks’ holiness should then radiate out to the laity in inquisitorial practice. Dominic’s transformation both reflected and shaped a spiritual geography of inquisition, and responded to the order’s deep involvement with inquisitions in the mid-thirteenth century and the persistent problem of contestation. But that resistance itself was given its own Christian reading by Dominicans involved with inquisition, which helped to spur and was influenced

by the “inquisitorializing” of Dominic, cooperating with a particular vision of the flexibility of the past.

Historians and Inquisitors

The establishment of Humbert’s *Legenda* as the official life in 1260 did not exclude Dominic’s *vita* from hagiographical collections compiled by later Dominicans. And as we see in Jordan’s *Libellus*, accounts of Dominic were necessarily intertwined with histories of the early order not intended to be explicitly hagiographical, such as Guillaume Pelhisson’s *Chronicon* (c. 1263), and *De quatuor in quibus deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, abandoned by its first author Étienne de Salagnac in 1278 but continued by Bernard Gui. These three Dominican historians were most influential in imaginatively transforming Dominic into an inquisitor and in presenting the foundation and early history of the order as inquisitorial, positing a troubled novelty as a sacralized tradition.⁵¹ All three were closely tied to the practice of inquisition. In addition, unlike the *legendae*, designed for festal use and reading to the brothers at table, their histories were aimed at wider audiences that could include the laity. Thus while their representations of Dominic’s past were in similar dialogue with the current circumstances of inquisition, and similarly echoed a Christianity that maintained extant traditions of heresy as sinful evil, they could attempt to disseminate those images more broadly.⁵² And here particularly we perceive these revisions not as simple massaging of the past to soothe contemporary ills, but as a more complicated approach to it, intertwined with the very premises of inquisition.

Guillaume Pelhisson had been appointed inquisitor in Albi, a colleague of Arnaud Cathala, by 1234, the year of Dominic’s canonization and Arnaud’s attack by an anti-inquisitorial crowd. He then conducted inquisitions in 1235 with Pierre Seila, one of the earliest Dominicans and a friend of Dominic, and Pons de Mons in the diocese of Cahors.⁵³ Long after his own inquisitorial career was over, Guillaume served as a witness for Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre in the Lauragais depositions in 1245 and 1246, showing one way in which Dominicans who were not inquisitors could easily become engaged in the inquisitorial office.⁵⁴ This protracted connection is crucial for understanding Guillaume’s historical work. His *Chronicon* (c. 1263) was the largely uninterrupted story of often violent encounter between Dominicans and

“heretics” in southern France from the end of the Albigensian Crusade in 1229 to 1244, including numerous inquisitions, condemnations, executions, and the temporary expulsion of the Dominicans from Toulouse in 1235. But Guillaume, writing *ad memoriam futurorum*, emphasized in his chronicle the spiritual dimensions of these many troubles, the webbing of the earthly time of Dominican order and inquisition with the superstructure of divine time. He sketched this exalted relationship at the very beginning of his history:

I wish to commit to memory . . . certain things that the Lord carried out in Toulouse, and the region of Toulouse, through the friars of the Order of Preachers and . . . through other faithful persons by the merits and prayers of blessed Dominic, who instituted the said order against heretics and their believers, in his own time with the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, with the concession of the lord pope Honorius III, and with the heartfelt assistance of the lord Fulk, bishop of Toulouse of happy memory. . . . We write these things . . . so that successors in our order and other faithful people, examining this, may know what kind of things their predecessors suffered for the faith of Christ, may praise the Lord, and thence may confidently take up boldness against heretics and all other infidels, and so that if . . . necessity presents itself, they may prepare themselves to do—or, rather, to sustain—such things or greater ones.⁵⁵

Dominic had founded the order expressly against heresy, with the complicity not only of pope and bishop, but also the Holy Spirit. Dominican efforts against heresy, including inquisition, were *pro fide Christi* and also the fruit of God’s own initiative. Thus not only the examples of their brothers’ fortitude during earlier troubled times, but also the knowledge that the order’s God-given identity was that of inquisitors and opponents of heresy, should encourage present and future Dominican inquisitors in their potentially onerous and dangerous work. Guillaume was surely realistic in his fear that worse violence might visit the friars in times to come: the tasks that had won glory for their predecessors were things that one boldly “sustained” rather than merely “did.” Yet he wanted the force of his frank warning to be countered for the brothers by the reassurance that the fight against heresy, and the suffering that could result from it, were equally God’s work. The tumult that Guillaume experienced in southern France was unpleasant, but it was part of a larger battle

between good and evil to which the order had always been dedicated. By presenting the fight against heresy as the providential, foundational genius of the order, Guillaume drew all brothers into this identification. In the narrative of the past that would follow in the chronicle—to be committed to memory and unforgotten—the various painful sufferings and manifestations of the historical fight against heresy were things that “the Lord carried out.” As in the past, so in the future that Guillaume kept firmly in mind in his reconstruction of that past. Dominic’s “own time,” and the future of the brothers, were alike wrapped in the providential time of the Holy Spirit.

According to Guillaume, just as Dominic the man had founded the order against heresy in time, Dominic the saint would ever assist the brothers in finding and executing heretics, in an instance of that “time” of the Holy Spirit. The *Chronicon* reported that on August 5, 1234, the Dominican community in Toulouse was about to enjoy dinner with the local bishop, fellow Dominican Raymond du Falga de Miremont, who had just celebrated the first feast day of the newly canonized St. Dominic with a mass. Before the meal began, “with the direction of divine providence, by the merits of blessed Dominic, whose feast they celebrate,” someone reported to the convent’s prior, Pons de St Gilles, that the mother-in-law of the “good man” Peytavi Boursier was being hereticated nearby. Prior and bishop immediately went to the house, where the ill old woman, mistaking them for fellow heretics, readily admitted her beliefs. When the bishop pronounced her to be a heretic and admonished her to abjure heresy and to embrace orthodoxy, she refused. Raymond, “in the power of Jesus Christ,” then condemned her as a heretic; she was taken, in bed, to be immediately burned. After their return to the convent’s refectory, bishop, prior, and their fellow Dominicans “ate with joy, giving thanks to God and blessed Dominic.” Guillaume Pelhisson insisted that the discovery and execution of this heretic resulted directly from God’s intervention: “the Lord did this in the first feast of blessed Dominic, to the glory and praise of his name and that of his servant, blessed Dominic, for the exaltation of the faith and the suppression of heretics and their belief.”⁵⁶ We hear echoes of Stephen of Spain’s canonization testimony, but in John of Vicenza’s place, God himself discovered and burnt the heretic in honor of Dominic’s holiness.

While Bishop Raymond exercised an episcopal duty here, Guillaume made it clear that this burning and the condemnations made by Dominican inquisitors were alike due to the saint’s holy *virtus*, establishing a continuity

of Dominic's work against heresy before and after his death. Raymond Gros appeared in Guillaume's chronicle not as prophesied convert but as actual, willing one. Guillaume reported that in 1236 Raymond, with the inquisitor Guillaume Arnaud, spoke a confession so thorough and accurate that divine providence must have had a hand in it. Similarly, the prosecutions made possible through Raymond's confession, after "many then confessed the truth, and thence the *inquisitio* was enlightened," took place "at God's gift and command," as did the exhumations of those Raymond Gros claimed had been hereticated before their death. Their bones were burned "to the honor of God and of the blessed virgin his mother and of blessed Dominic his servant, who, as he happily founded that order in Toulouse against the heretics, most happily obtained from the Lord that it be done, as in his feast first celebrated in that same place."⁵⁷ Guillaume did not mention here Dominic's supposed prophecy of Raymond Gros's conversion, which was included in Constantine of Orvieto's and Humbert of Romans's *legendae*. But his chronicle sought to link neatly Dominic's activities against heresy during his lifetime, his holiness after his death, and his brother inquisitors' arrests, executions, and exhumations. To Guillaume, the providential foundation was fulfilled specifically in inquisition, glossing both Dominic's and the order's past.

Guillaume lived through the contentious difficulties in establishing inquisitions in southern France in the 1230s and 1240s, and wanted to encourage future brothers who might be obligated to act in similarly hard circumstances.⁵⁸ He believed that the dissension he had personally witnessed from laypeople with a variety of degrees of sympathy with dissent resulted from their failure to understand rightly how inquisition constituted a benevolent discipline: they were disturbed by the exhumation of their dead relatives, by the nosiness of inquisitors, by the executions of the "good men" who refused to subject themselves to that discipline and the vision of divine community that rested behind it. They were willing to attack personally those conducting this salutary work (including Guillaume's colleague Arnaud Cathala) in at best ignorance and at worst devilish truculence. He clearly saw the need to insist upon the divine foundation of this troubled work and its fulfillment of the order's founding spirit, and to promise God's active assistance to the brothers especially through its first saint. Guillaume's *Chronicon* reinterpreted the history of the order and placed inquisition at its chronological and ideological origin, rendering the office part of its traditional ministry, and reminded the brothers that their holy founder helped (and would

continue to help) them in this holy task. The chronicle also sought more broadly to articulate that inquisition was a holy project founded by God and guided, again in both life and death, by a saint. Here Guillaume placed inquisitorial and anti-inquisitorial violence within an explicitly Christian context, but also one of the strange interpenetration of troubles in past, present, and future, foreseen timelessly by that providential foundation, a future history working backward.

Another historian familiar with inquisition's troubles in southern France was Étienne de Salagnac, prior of the Dominican house at Limoges, a community that housed two other well-known Dominican historians, Gerard de Frachet (elected prior in 1233, he died there in 1281), and Bernard Gui (c. 1279–1292). Bernard would eventually continue Étienne's *De quatuor in quibus deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, which the latter abandoned in 1278, well before his death in 1291. Although Étienne was not an inquisitor, he was closely involved with the order's inquisitorial work. He had made profession to the order under Pierre Seila; Bernard Gui in turn professed under him in 1280.⁵⁹ Moreover, as both Étienne himself and Guillaume Pelhisson recorded, he was present at the order's house in Toulouse on Dominic's first feast day in 1234, witnessing the impromptu execution of Peytavi Boursier's dying mother-in-law. Étienne was then intimately familiar with the inquisitorial tumult and violence that Pelhisson described at length in his chronicle.⁶⁰ And Étienne, even more so than inquisitor Guillaume, sought to present the history of Dominic and the order in a way that emphasized the status of both saintly and inquisitorial violence against heretics as divine judgment.

Étienne's estimation of Dominic's significance is patent through his naming the founder as one of the "four things" by which God had graciously distinguished the order. Yet according to Étienne, that distinction was marked—and possibly proved—by violence against heretics both before and after his death. Like Guillaume Pelhisson, Étienne's preface sketched the order's origin in providential terms; moreover, the fight against heresy—to the point of executing recalcitrant heretics—had been the end of the Order of Preachers since before its inception. Étienne explained the Dominicans' foundation as the result of an agreement by Diego of Osma, Fulk of Toulouse, and others "that some order should be instituted whose endeavor and office it would be to dispute against heretics and to refute them and to preserve the sheep of the church and to rescue the devoured from their throats."⁶¹ (It was the order, then, destined to protect the "sheep" from the "wolves" of whom

ecclesiastical texts on heresy had long spoken.) This decision fulfilled what God had announced through various media not only before the order's foundation, but also even before its founder's birth: combat against heresy was to be the order's chief duty. Here Étienne brought together Joanna's vision and a particular exegesis and application of a biblical text, arguing that God had foretold how Dominic's sanctity would be manifested in the persecution of heretics:

Which two things, namely affection and work, were shown from heaven to his mother in the vision of the whelp bearing in its mouth a burning torch and inflaming the world. Indeed affection [was shown] through the burning torch; work through the dog. Through the dogs are designated the Preachers whose leader and father he is, especially of those about whom it was written in the psalm: "They return in the evening," *of the world*, says the gloss; "and like dogs they will suffer from hunger" *for converting others*; "and they will go about the city," the gloss says: *They will defend the church against the attacks of heretics*. To this end he labored as much as he could and knew how to do. His zeal and love were shown through the torch. Indeed he *arose like a fire* both spiritually and bodily in the likeness of the great Elijah, about whom Epiphanius wrote. . . . "Do not fear, because his habitation will be in light and his speech [will be] a fixed sentence, and he will judge Israel with sword and fire." Certainly blessed Dominic lived immovably in the light of baptismal grace; his speech was a fixed sentence; and he judged spiritually, and also bodily, with sword and fire.⁶²

As we have seen, earlier exegesis of the envisioned burning torch had also recalled the prophet Elijah. Pedro Ferrando (and thence Constantine and Humbert) had interpreted Joanna's vision as signifying a preacher, like Elijah, whose words burned like a torch, an "attacker of heresies" who would keep wolves from the flocks with the barks of his preaching.⁶³ While Étienne continued this tradition by likewise alluding to the burning word of Elijah described in Ecclesiasticus 48:1, his inclusion and interpretation of the quotation from Pseudo-Epiphanius shifted the meaning of this holy modeling from Dominic's preaching to his role as judge. Dominic not merely kept the wolves from the flocks with zealous words; he punished them after their transgression. Sword and fire were spiritual metaphors and bodily judgments. Étienne

saw this judgment as the proof and the privilege of Dominic's status as a saint: it was not the earthly inquisitor's judgment, but rather God's divine judgment of a wicked and rebellious heresy that was channeled through the saint both before and after his death. What was prophecy, the future, for Elijah was history, the past, for Dominic, itself prophesied for his mother. It was the "evening of the world," or the waning apocalyptic moment in time—compare Innocent III's *Vergentis in senium*—but the founder's "history" was simultaneously beyond time.

Étienne's first piece of evidence for this spiritual and "bodily" judgment significantly re-presented Dominic's participation in the Albigensian Crusade. We have seen that both Jordan of Saxony and Pedro Ferrando cited Diego of Osma's frustrated "prophecy" of the crusade. Yet Humbert's official life of Dominic omitted it, underscoring the novelty and import of the reappearance in Étienne's history of this violent threat against stubborn heretics. However, now Dominic, rather than Diego, was their source:

When at last he left Toulouse and dispersed the brothers in [1217] on the day of the Assumption of blessed Mary, at Prouilhe—for there he had called the brothers and thence he sent them to different provinces a little while after the death of the count of Montfort—clothed in holy vestments, at the end of his sermon he said to the many who had gathered from different places. . . . "For many years now I have sung to you sweetly by preaching, beseeching, bewailing, but it is said in the language of my land: 'Let the staff prevail where blessing does not.' Behold we will stir up against you princes and prelates who, alas, will call together nations and kingdoms against this land, and they will slay many with the edge of the sword [*multos in ore gladii interficient*], and demolish the towers, and pull down and destroy the walls, and, alas, they will reduce all of you to servitude. And thus the *bagols* will prevail, that is the strength of the staff, where blessing and sweetness did not prevail." All of which . . . we saw and we may see, for in the same time Louis, son of Philip the king of France, took up the cross.⁶⁴

This claim that Dominic had prophesied the Albigensian Crusade was original to Étienne. Étienne may have been inspired here not only by Jordan's Diego story, but also by an account in Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay's *Hystoria albigensis* about Berengar, bishop of Carcassonne. Berengar had reportedly

threatened his heretical flock with the prediction that God would have his violent vengeance through persons who would destroy the city, which Pierre saw fulfilled in the crusaders' seizure of Carcassonne.⁶⁵ Étienne's ascription of a similar threatening prediction of the crusade to Dominic certainly reflected the order's historiographical policy of transferring early influence from the bishop of Osma to Dominic. But Étienne's account more significantly positioned Dominic not only as a source of saintly privileged information from God about the fate of the truculent townspeople, but also as a conduit of their divine judgment through earthly violence. Étienne alluded here to a previous incident of royal war as divine punishment: Saul's slaying of the Amalekites on God's command ("omne autem vulgus interfecit in ore gladii"), a destruction that God nevertheless judged to be incomplete, stripping Saul of his kingship over Israel because of his disobedient failure exhaustively to "kill man, woman, child, nursling, ox, sheep, camel, and ass" (1 Kings 15). Étienne presented the Albigensian Crusade as similar holy vengeance through violence upon malefactors who rejected God's truth (a vengeance also wrought by righteously appointed "princes and prelates"; in this case, Louis was more successful than Saul), and Dominic became the instrument for a summons that somberly detailed destruction upon those who would not return to God's truth. With the perspective of the historian looking back a half century, Étienne could say with satisfaction that Dominic had been successful in his summons, that Languedoc had indeed received its ruinous divine chastening. This was then something more elevated than revising the past by crediting Dominic with an action by Diego; we see the difficult composition of a history of a prophecy, or the past of a telling of the future, a forwards-backwards movement that proved both God's timeless intentions for heresy and Dominic's sanctity.

But this violent chastening of stubborn heretics who refused invitations to return was not exhausted with the end of the crusade in 1229. Dominic's prophecy provided a precedent for future exercises of divine vengeance-through-violence upon obstreperous heretics, including the executions that Étienne himself witnessed. God judged all his subjects and visited violence upon the apostate, the idolatrous, the disdainful; as he had once accomplished this through Saul, and through Dominic and crusading "princes and prelates," he now accomplished it through inquisitors, who continued to fulfill the foundational charge with (ideally) the help of pious secular authority. Étienne's second proof of Dominic's "spiritual and bodily judgment" was his

eyewitness account of the burning of Peytavi Boursier's mother-in-law in Toulouse on Dominic's first feast day in 1234, which departed in significant ways from Guillaume Pelhisson's story. Unlike the rather summary procedure reported there, Étienne described the affair more as a proper *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*. After Gregory IX had commissioned brothers as inquisitors, Count Raymond of Toulouse's stonewalling gave heretics opportunity to conceal themselves, "as with the feathers and scales of Leviathan," from Guillaume Arnaud's prosecution. Short of divine help, inquisitors could not "dig through the wall, by which they might penetrate the most monstrous and horrendous abominations." Fortunately, "the Lord revealed the shameful things of the great whore" of heresy in Toulouse by disclosing the elderly woman's imminent hereticon. God was a dependable witness-inquisitor, and once condemned by Bishop Raymond, the woman was "handed to the secular court" to be burned "joyfully" by its officials. Étienne also added to Pelhisson's account the details that the local Dominican prior (and inquisitor) Pons de St Gilles preached an extemporaneous public sermon after her burning, when the bishop, fearing the town's angry reaction to the impromptu execution of a dying old woman in her bed, "prudently" went home and failed to keep a promise to preach. According to Étienne, in order to celebrate both the feast and the related execution, Pons delivered a sermon on Ecclesiasticus 48:1, "adapting his words to the feast, to the saint, and also to the present business [the execution]." (If Pons indeed preached on this text in 1234, it was a moment of creative prescience. Jordan of Saxony's *Libellus* had applied it to Reginald of Orléans; it would not serve as an allegory for Dominic's own career until Pedro Ferrando's *legenda* a few years later.)⁶⁶ The circumstances of the sermon were tumultuous, as Pons shouted over an unruly crowd:

"On behalf of God and blessed Dominic his servant, from this hour I despair of heretics and their believers and supporters." And again he shouted: "I adjure Catholics on behalf of God that having laid aside fear, they should offer testimony to the truth. . . ." I bear witness before God: within seven days many came, and with their help, the road to the hidden things of shadows was opened to inquisitors, and henceforth, until the end of the world, may it not be closed. He who saw all these things, wrote these things. Some of them abjured heresy, others confessed their lapses into the pit of heresy and returned to ecclesiastical unity, some disclosed others.⁶⁷

God's exemplarity as disclosing informant was offered to the crowd: the living should also not conceal the identity and activity of heretics, especially as God's involvement again solved the problem of discerning between the false piety of concealed heresy and the true faith of the Roman church. But the emphasis on saintly and divine "bodily" judgment was more important here. Étienne, unfortunately, did not detail further the precise connections that Pons supposedly made on this occasion among Elijah, Dominic, and the burning of heretics. Yet through his historical account—which affirmed his personal witness of the events—Étienne drew his own, with significant repercussions for Dominic's image as "inquisitor." Most obviously, Étienne represented Dominic as one who had judged "bodily" with sword and fire, providing a paradigm for future brothers who executed, and arguing that the contentious act of imposing the death penalty upon heretics was traditional and holy. We will see below the manifold ways in which Roman clerics crafted the execution of heretics as God's own judgment. Here it took place through the newly canonized Dominic himself, as God had a knowledge of the dying woman's concealed heresy that Dominic's living brethren did not. Dominic as saint, together with God, served as condemning inquisitor, complementing the earlier threat of violence made against truculent heretics during his lifetime and fulfilled in the Albigensian Crusade. According to Étienne (who had witnessed not only the tumult in southern France reported by Guillaume Pelhisson but also the persistent complaints about the death penalty), the brothers' most controversial work—execution and the exhumation of the dead—was indeed God's righteous judgment. As that judgment had once been given by Elijah, and then by the new saint Dominic as God's testament to his sanctity, it was now imposed by the brother inquisitors. Inquisition rested within linear time, but this was a time pregnant with Christian meaning: the arrival of witnesses "within seven days" was balanced with the apocalyptic time of "the end of the world"; Étienne's history was ostensibly written while the "road to the hidden things of shadows" was still "open to inquisitors," pursuing that apocalyptic end.

Étienne's allusion to Elijah also helped to redefine preaching, and thence the Order of Preachers itself. The dog in Joanna's vision symbolized too Dominic's sons, the "preachers," whose "going about the city" was glossed as "defend[ing] the church against the attacks of heretics." The wandering work of mendicant preaching, itself engaged in Christian time and timelessness through prophecy, dissolved into inquisitions. Significantly, Étienne's discursus

on Elijah, inquisition, and judgment constituted nearly all of *De quatuor*'s second section, "On the glorious name of the Preachers." To Étienne, who had witnessed Dominicans in southern France struggling with much energy, and in all aspects of their work, to eradicate heresy, "preaching" had become identified with other duties. And in these examples, preaching was a weak sword against heresy: it failed in the tale of Dominic's prophecy of crusade, its message communicated only by the violence of war; Pons's preaching only succeeded because it immediately followed inquisitorial violence. The Order of Preachers was here an order of inquisitors. Étienne's depiction of Dominic's holy judgments shared the motives and aims of the impromptu sermon reportedly given after the burning by Pons de St Gilles. By offering the saint as an inquisitor, and by collapsing the preaching and judgment of Elijah into inquisition, Étienne perhaps sought likewise to quell opposition, to warn laypeople to cooperate, and proudly encouraged his brethren by praising inquisition as God's holy judgment of those who had rebelled. But "the Preachers," and Dominic as exemplary "preacher," became here something else.

Although Guillaume and Étienne both depicted the saint in life and afterlife as a conduit for God's holy power and violence against heresy, they still refrained from identifying the historical Dominic as an inquisitor. This would change with Bernard Gui (c. 1261–1331). Yet what we see most clearly and importantly in Bernard's historical work is not merely an original presentation of Dominic as founding inquisitor as well as founding preacher, but also the inquisitorial vision of Christian truth, investigation, and the past that generated it.

Bernard Gui Seeks Out the Truth

Despite copious evidence for Bernard Gui's assiduous and thoughtful attention to his long career as inquisitor of Toulouse (1307–1323), including his exhaustive manual, *Practica inquisitionis hereticae pravitatis*, Bernard treasured his avocation as historian.⁶⁸ After his profession to the Dominican order in 1280 under Étienne de Salagnac, Bernard filled many administrative offices, including lector, prior, and procurator general, and seized every opportunity they allowed to preserve and record the past. As prior of Limoges, Bernard had quickly assembled "the first library to be built in any Dominican monastery in the province of Toulouse," and tucked history writing into the

interstices formed by his other duties, including his inquisitorial appointment.⁶⁹ In 1305 he finished his continuation of *De quatuor*, which Étienne had left dormant in 1278. Bernard wrote several other histories (often simply catalogues) of his treasured order and of southern France, including *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciae Tolosanae et Provinciae* and many versions of his major historical work, the *Flores chronicorum*, for which he had begun to collect material in 1306 and which he started to write in 1311. He presented a first edition of this work to Dominican master general Berengar of Landorre in 1315, and a second was dedicated to Pope John XXII in 1319; other versions appeared in 1320, 1327, and 1331.⁷⁰ Bernard's histories received sufficient contemporary notoriety that in 1369 Charles V of France instructed one of his royal translators, the Carmelite Jean Golein, to translate several into French under the synthetic title *Les opuscles historiques de Bernard Gui*. Relatedly, immediately after his inquisitorial career, while bishop of Lodève, Bernard began the hagiographical collection *Speculum sanctorale* (1324–1329), commissioned by Berengar as a substitute for Jacobus de Voragine's unsatisfactory *Legenda aurea*.⁷¹

The long-term interweaving of Bernard's career as inquisitor and as historian influenced his methodology and ideology of history in two signature ways: one practical, and one visionary. First, Bernard's composition of historical works was accomplished against the background of his duties as inquisitor, which helped that writing in concrete ways. The travel throughout southern France it demanded allowed Bernard to examine other conventual libraries and to correct and to update his own works held there. The personal relationships made through that work expanded his field for sources and information; for example, Geoffroy d'Ablis, inquisitor of Carcassonne, sent to Bernard from Rome some accounts of miracles performed by Pope Benedict XI that Bernard then added to *De quatuor*. More directly, Bernard used inquisitorial records themselves as historical sources.⁷² Second, and more profoundly, to Bernard Gui historiography was the building of monuments to his cherished Order of Preachers, a medium to preserve memory. But it also reflected higher, divine truth in the glass blown from the most petty details. The publication of this overarching Christian truth, the relationship of details to it, and the imposition of the past upon the present (and vice versa) were all common to Bernard's role as historian and his simultaneous role as inquisitor. While we see "investigation" in both vocations in pursuit of truth, these commonalities more substantively shared a methodology of obedience,

the obedience to a universal *ecclesia* and the Roman faith pursued in inquisitorial practice.

Bernard Gui was the most influential “inquisitorializer” of the historical Dominic. While at most his predecessor Étienne de Salagnac had credited Dominic with an angry prophecy of the Albigensian Crusade, Bernard’s *Flores chronicorum* published an important revision of Dominic that argued for the founder’s active participation. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay’s *Hystoria albigensis* recounted that at the battle of Muret in 1213, some clerics who had gathered at the battle visited a nearby church in order to beg for divine intervention. Bernard’s own account of the crusade in the *Flores chronicorum* borrowed heavily from Pierre, yet introduced into his account the new detail that Dominic was among the clerics seeking divine assistance for this battle against heretics. Their exhortation was compared to a biblical exemplar of combat: the clerics “entered the church in the example of Moses at the war of Joshua, lifting their hands to heaven, beseeching the Lord for his servants, who exposed themselves to the danger of imminent death for his name and faith.”⁷³ Bernard had added to Pierre’s story not only Dominic’s presence, but also the description of the crusaders’ possible death in battle as a death *pro fide*, rendering them Christian martyrs. He added too the reference to Moses, which was probably an allusion to Exodus 17, another account of war with the Amalekites that contains the phrase *in ore gladii* (verse 13). According to the modern Dominican historian M.-H. Vicaire, Bernard’s interpolation into Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay’s account likely engendered the order’s legendary tradition that Dominic had stood in the midst of the battle of Muret, holding aloft a crucifix that bellicose heretics impaled with their arrows. Arguing that Bernard Gui, a careful historian, would not breezily insert an unsupported detail into his account, Vicaire postulated an extant oral tradition in the Midi that claimed Dominic to be one of the anonymous companions of the bishops, including Fulk of Toulouse, mentioned in Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay’s tale. Moreover, from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, a crucifix was enshrined in the house that Pierre Seila had donated to the community in Toulouse and that was used as a headquarters for the Toulousan inquisitors. According to Vicaire, these two traditions were combined in the image of Dominic on the battlefield with the crucifix, possibly through the agency of Bernard himself, who lived in Toulouse when the cross is first testified to be there.⁷⁴

Whatever its source, we should read Bernard’s interpolation—which presented Dominic as a supporter of lay violence against heretics in a way more

immediate than the crusade prophecy that Étienne ascribed to him—in terms of the conceptions of violence and divine judgment that informed, and were provided by, his inquisitorial work. Bernard began to compose the *Flores chronicorum* in 1311; the previous year he had conducted his most important *sermo generalis*, at which he handed over to the secular arm the greatest number of heretics he sentenced to death on a single occasion. Divine judgment was similarly called upon in Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay's account of clerics supplicating God for holy practical assistance in the battle of Muret: a supplication for, in effect, the death of heretics contending against the faith. Bernard's inclusion of Dominic in this anonymous number posited him specifically as a supporter of violent judgment against those who had turned away from God and his church. To Bernard, the crusade was a "war of the Lord," in which the "fighters of Christ," led by Dominic's friend Simon of Montfort (a "most Christian count" and "Catholic man"), fought against the "enemies of the faith."⁷⁵ It is not hard to see the resonance of this tale for inquisitors, especially those in Toulouse who could gaze on the storied crucifix: the battle against heresy was translated to the literal battlefield of Muret, as it now was to the places of inquisition; divine assistance might come in chastening violence; divine judgment was carried out after the Albigensian Crusade through Dominic's sons, pursuing through inquisition those who, metaphorically, flung arrows at Christ on the cross. And to locate Dominic at the battle was then to identify him as a kind of "fighter" for God, wrapping him in this spiritual-historical recapitulation from Moses to Montfort to inquisitor.

Although Bernard's Muret story drew Dominic into the thick of battle in a way unsupported by other evidence, it still did not identify the saint as an inquisitor. Yet the familiar account of the Raymond Gros prophecy, first reported by Constantine of Orvieto and then by Humbert of Romans, underwent some important changes in Bernard Gui's own life of Dominic in his *Speculum sanctorale*, which Bernard began in 1324, right after the end of his inquisitorial career. According to Bernard,

Once when the man of God Dominic was preaching and carrying out the office of inquisition against heretical stain committed to him in Toulouse by the authority of the apostolic legate [*et gerente inquisitionis officium contra labem hereticam auctoritate legati apostolice sedis sibi commissum in partibus Tholosanis*], it happened that certain heretics arrested and convicted by him, since they did not wish to return to the

catholic faith, were to be handed over to secular judgment. Although they were deputed to the fire, [Dominic] notic[ed] among the others a certain one . . . [and instructed the officials of the court to keep him back], “lest in any way he be burned with the others. . . .” This was brother Raymond Gros, who afterwards led back to the way of truth many whom he had first led astray. His great and faithful confession of heresy has been kept until the present day, written in the proceedings of the inquisitors of Toulouse.⁷⁶

While Constantine and Humbert had described Dominic’s activity in Toulouse simply as “preaching,” Bernard imposed upon him the status of official, papally appointed inquisitor in language that echoed Bernard’s frequent description of his own inquisitorial role (“auctoritate sedis apostolice inquisitor labis heretice in partibus Tholosanis”). This language also resembled the description of Peter of Verona in *Magnis et crebris*, his bull of canonization (“pro exequenda inquisitione contra hereticos sibi ab apostolica sede commissa”), and the common identification of all inquisitors in letters and sentences.⁷⁷ This tale of Dominic’s prophecy, evidence for his sanctity, closed the technical distance between inquisition and the formally secular duty to execute heretics: as we will see, a common closure. More important, here the order’s founder, its first saint, handed over those heretics to be burned specifically in his capacity as papally appointed inquisitor. This new identification surely served to encourage those Dominicans who “carr[ied] out the office of inquisition against heretical stain committed to [them] in Toulouse” and elsewhere—particularly as they, like Bernard Gui, abandoned some to execution by fire. But as Gui was indeed a “careful historian” in the sense of diligent research and engagement with sources, this is not enough to explain why he revised the past so completely by transforming Dominic into an inquisitor.

Most simply, Bernard’s familiarity with inquisitorial archives and his use of them as a source help to explain this identification. The account of Raymond Gros’s disclosure of fellow heretics in 1236 was contained in the archives of Toulouse, retroactively, by rubric, defining Dominic as an inquisitor (although Dominic was long dead by the time of this prophesied reconciliation, supervised by Guillaume Arnaud, as Guillaume Pelhisson recounted). Bernard was well familiar with this collection, and saw inquisitors’ documentation of their work as a practical aid for their successors in future prosecutions and as a unifying connection between all brother inquisitors, past,

present, and future. Dominic's "presence" in the archives through this text positioned him quite literally as one of Bernard's colleagues, whose earlier work could be consulted. But this also moved in the opposite direction. When Bernard discovered in Toulouse in 1305 the letter by which Dominic reconciled the former heretic Pons Roger with various penances in 1208, the excited historian transcribed a copy "word for word, without addition or diminution of any kind." Bernard's description of his discovery was replete with the scholar's zeal to prove veracity through detail:

I found [the document] cared for with great diligence and devotion by the sacristan . . . in an aged parchment, with a wax seal still whole, but old, of a round shape, in the middle of which was an *agnus dei* with a cross. . . . But the letters of the seal could not be well read. For I had and held the original of this letter [on October 31, 1305].⁷⁸

While Bernard's excitement at finding this century-old document is likely familiar to modern historians, his context for interpreting it differed greatly. When he later wrote *Speculum sanctorale*, this experienced inquisitor presumably saw no reason not to give the saint the formal title, and conversely much reason to do so. By "arresting and convicting"—compare Constantine and Humbert's accounts, a legend read at table—suspected heretics, imposing penances upon the contrite as with Pons, and abandoning the recalcitrant to death, Dominic had surely performed the pope's duty that Bernard himself had assumed. As we will examine in the next chapter, there is good reason to align more closely Dominic's activity and that of later friar inquisitors, and Bernard seems to have prioritized this substantive similarity over the technicality that Dominican papal commissions did not begin until 1231. Dominic's activity became retroactively "inquisitorial," a character then confirmed by the archives. Circa 1322, Bernard Gui's colleague Jean de Beaune put two of Dominic's letters—Pons Roger's reconciliation and another permitting Raymond Guillelmi de Altaripa to receive former heretic Guillelmus Hugonis as a guest (1215)—in the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne under the title *Litterae beati Dominici inquisitionis officium exercentis*.⁷⁹ Dominic's "inquisitorial" documents, then, demonstrate how rereadings could govern the organization of information, which in turn could govern future readings.

More important for Bernard's context of interpretation, and for Dominic's past generally, is his inquisitorial vision of history. As we saw above,

M.-H. Vicaire theorized an oral tradition driving Bernard's Muret revision, presuming that this careful historian would not include otherwise unsupported facts. Yet Bernard's different premises for reconstructing the past and its relationship to an immutable, governing Christian truth, and to Christian time, are precisely the point. Bernard's love of the Dominican order was such that he voluntarily reprofessed in 1330 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his profession. This devotion, manifested above all in "obedience to God and to blessed Mary and to blessed Dominic" and to the order, governed Bernard's writing of history. As the French historian Bernard Guénée has observed about Gui's historical work, "the certainty that obedience leads to truth sustained the historian," just as the same certainty sustained the inquisitor.⁸⁰ We might phrase this a bit differently: obedience molds or elicits the truth, as awareness of a surpassing Christian truth governs interpretation. We might also compare this to two hermeneutics from the early and later Middle Ages respectively: an early medieval hermeneutic of "truth" that posited that things externally appearing to be false in fact could actually be true, by signifying a deeper truth; and theories of canonical authority that argued texts gained their authority not from their authorship, but from inner content and its harmony with scriptural or Christian truth.⁸¹ Analogously, Bernard's transformation of Dominic might be understood as dependent upon deeper truths about the nature of heresy in Christianity.

This obedience to divine truth and to the Roman faith and *ecclesia* that Bernard believed was its earthly manifestation—this lens of viewing the past and instrument of its composition—helps to explain Bernard's reinterpretation. First, we see Bernard's obedience to the particular Christian truth that proposed a perdurant battle between God and Satan, and to the related truth that posited various ecclesiastical measures against heresy as its earthly microcosm. As Bernard made clear in *Practica inquisitionis* and elsewhere, he believed the inquisitorial work in which he invested several years to be a holy duty of reconciling those who were contrite and handing over those who had damned themselves. Not only did practical resemblances and archival presence suggest Dominic's inquisitorial status, Bernard also felt no need to segregate the founder from inquisition in order to protect his sanctity, instead maintaining the holy value of weaving Dominic's individual past into the timeless battle between heresy and orthodoxy, and more especially into the historical past of inquisition. We might consider here also the earlier interpretations of Joanna's prophetic vision, with their reorganization of time, in

which Dominic's historical ministry and foundation of the order were snatched up and tossed retroactively backward, and the later historical development of inquisitions wrapped within the vision. This was, interestingly, itself a mirror image of a different view of time and development, one related to discernment. Throughout his long inquisitorial career, Bernard encountered both violent and milder moments of resistance from those he questioned and sentenced. These included witnesses who maintained that confessing to an inquisitor was a sin, and that after Dominic's lifetime, the Dominican order had become wholly corrupted.⁸² Bernard's identification of Dominic as an inquisitor may have resulted in part from his wish to defend and to protect what he saw as a pious duty by emphasizing its connection with the saint. More substantively, Bernard could deny this historical corruption by a backward play of time, and fusion of all efforts against heresy, despite changes in time, as theologically identical. As the details of his editing of sources show, Bernard did try to write his life of Dominic for a broad audience beyond the order, which suggests that this revision was, at least in part, apologetic.⁸³ However, this does not mean that Bernard "knew" Dominic was not an inquisitor. Rather, Bernard's identification and sense of time led him to upend any claim of post-Dominic "corruption" and decline through inquisition; in a reverse (or, rather, lateral) move, Dominic was preordained emblem of the order as fighters of the faith—exactly what Bernard and fellow inquisitors were. Bernard's view of inquisition as a momentary instance of this conflict, which was ultimately unitary, enclosed Dominic within it.

Second, we see in Bernard's revision a broader obedience to the faith of Roman Christianity, in which confidence in divine truth governed the interpretation of narrative detail, and not vice versa. In 1309, two years after assuming inquisitorial duties, Bernard thus described his historical research on the priors of the Dominican provinces of Toulouse and Provence: "for I sought out [*inquisivi*] the truth about past and antique things that happened before us, partly from older persons who saw or heard them, but partly I regathered certain things written down by others."⁸⁴ But the similarity between the two investigations into the truth—historical and inquisitorial—was not just technically methodological, both interrogating people and documents to "seek out" the past. History also resembled inquisition in that obedience to divine truth predominated in reconstructing that past. "Investigation" was not the gradual accumulation of new truths that might supercede or revise the greater truth, but rather the interpretation and negotiation of plain facts amid the

white noise of the Roman church's faith. In the *Practica inquisitionis*, Bernard sketched a picture of the ideal inquisitor, adapted from the anonymous *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis*:

let him be vigilant among doubtful things, so that not easily does he believe everything that seems like the truth, because not every such thing is always true; nor pertinaciously should he disbelieve the opposite, because often something is found to be true that does not seem like the truth; and therefore with all assiduity the things heard are to be taken apart and examined, and the truth to be investigated.⁸⁵

Bernard had added to his source "and the truth to be investigated," *et veritas inquirenda*. Yet in the inquisitorial investigation of truth, the surpassing truth of Roman Christianity was to be the exegetical lens when questions of interpretation presented themselves to the inquisitor, when "things heard [were] to be taken apart and examined." While details were surely not to be omitted in confession or interrogation (rather, inquisitors sought the smallest, most interiorized details), the matter of discernment was at play here, but in a way illustrating the inquisitor's attempt to match uncontested details to spiritually transcendent reality. A woman gave dinner to her heretical brother; did that make her a *fautor hereticorum*? A Franciscan apostate had fled inquisitors, but was he truly relapsed and hence damned? Even as the inquisitor was to use discrimination in weighing and judging testimony, individual details were handmaidens to the larger truth, themselves obedient.

The historical methodology of Bernard Gui corresponded exactly to the inquisitor's fidelity to a larger truth over subordinate, flexible details. Bernard's accounts of the past applied this methodology of obedience; it was a guiding interpretative and narrative principle in his lives of the Toulousan martyr St. Sernin, where he manipulated details in order to paint a picture of the saint that best served local piety.⁸⁶ And in addition to identifying Dominic as an inquisitor in *Speculum sanctorale*, Bernard also erased potentially suspect comments about apostolic poverty and omitted similarly risky references to the imitation of Christ, fearing their redolence of heresy.⁸⁷ In the prologue to his collection of saints' lives, Bernard assured the reader that although he had added some details to, and omitted others from, earlier *vitae*, "nevertheless the truth and integrity of history is always safe."⁸⁸ The "truth" of Dominic was that he was a saint, a protector of Roman Christianity, and

consequently a “present” opponent of heresies nonexistent in his lifetime, like the views on apostolic poverty condemned by the pope. To Bernard, the truth of Dominic was that he was an inquisitor.⁸⁹ Here also, then, time itself became complicated. If inquisitorial interrogations into the “truth” dealt with both past (“What did you do?”) and present (“Do you think the pope is the vicar of Christ?”), interpenetrating with future (judgment) and beyond-time (good’s conflict with evil), history had its own complicated interpenetrations. Events and qualities in the past were not immutable, but rather enmeshed in an eternity that glossed or rewrote them.

Following the Footsteps

More flagrant reimaginings of Dominic as inquisitor were yet to come, like Pedro Berruguete’s well-known painting “*Auto da Fé*” in the Presence of St. Domenic Guzman (c. 1490) in which Dominic, replete with halo and aura, presides over the burning and torment of heretics.⁹⁰ Yet for our purposes, we must emphasize how these reinterpretations of Dominic and of the order’s early history reflected their own Christian context, and pursued their own project, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In *De quatuor*, Bernard Gui reminded his brethren of the spiritual benefits of emulating their order’s founder: “to us, his brothers and sons, [he] strongly [left] behind an example, so that, following in his footsteps, especially of poverty and humility, we can arrive with him at the glory and crown of the eternal kingdom as much more confidently as more securely.”⁹¹ While Dominic’s poverty and humility were most important, the exemplarity of his newly “discovered” inquisitorial identity could likewise propel the friars into salvation. How Dominicans could “follow the footsteps” of their founder and first saint gradually changed during the first century of inquisitorial commissions. The reinterpretation of Dominic as inquisitor anachronistically defined these duties as traditional in the order, with ramifications for its internal and external identities. Amid contestation and its risks, these historians demonstrated various interpenetrations of the fight against heresy and Dominic’s holiness. Those friars participating in inquisition could be reassured that they emulated their founding saint, while the past, like *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* itself, could instruct and discipline Christians by demonstrating the character of heresy and the sacrality of its destruction.

But we should rethink that “anachronism.” We should not dismiss the variations and interpolations of these historians too readily as carelessness or an insufficiently developed historical sense. It is richer to consider instead how the religious mentalities of these Dominicans filtered their visions of the past through some contextualized premises: the relationship of different heresies; the fundamental unity of all efforts against it; a sense of the slipperiness of Christian time, linear and not; and obedience, particularly obedience to the divine truth of Christianity as precisely defined by the Roman church, which was the skeleton of inquisition. Obedience was the special mark of the mendicant enterprise; a heightened emphasis on individual obedience supplanted stability, a traditional value of monasticism but impossible for mendicancy and the *vita apostolica*. Dominicans’ accounts of the past in inquisitions, historiography, and hagiography share inquiry into details, the meaning and character of which were ostensibly static but in reality protean; those details’ subjugation to Christian truth; the role and vivacity of the past within the present (particularly as the conflict between good and evil was both within and beyond time); the conception of inquisitorial activity as pursuing precise pious and salvific ends. All accounts of the past had to uphold the transcendent structure of God’s authority implemented through the papacy and radiant to the individual soul. Again this methodology of piety both reflects a particular Christian thought-world, and was in turn a means to disseminate it. Those who refused to see that the past told the story of heresy’s future destruction could learn from the history of Dominic: a saint who founded an order of inquisitors, and who then became one himself.

PART TWO

Inquisition as Divine Discipline

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CHAPTER 4

Souls and Bodies

CIRCA 1208, DOMINIC Guzmán, then a preacher active in Languedoc, reconciled the former heretic Pons Roger of Tréville to the church with a number of penances, imposed by him under the authority of the papal legate Arnold of Citeaux. Dominic ordered Pons on three Sundays or feast days to be led by a priest from the entrance to the city to the church, naked to the thighs, while being flogged. He was to avoid meat, eggs, and cheese, except on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, when he was expressly to eat those foods “in the denial of [his] former error.” Pons was also to abstain from fish for three forty-day periods a year, and from fish, butter, and wine three days each week. He would assume “religious clothing,” on which was placed a small cross over each breast. He should hear mass daily, attending vespers as well on feast days, observe the liturgical hours, and say ten *pater nosters* during the day and twenty at night. He was always to remain chaste and within the limits of Tréville, showing the document of his reconciliation each month to the local chaplain, whom Dominic charged with “diligently” overseeing the performance of this lifelong penance. Failure to perform these penances rendered Pons a perjurer, heretic, and excommunicate, “to be removed from the fellowship of the faithful.”¹

Seven years later, Dominic attended the Fourth Lateran Council with Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, to request formal approbation for the fledgling order evolved from his preaching movement in southern France. Like Dominic’s preaching in Languedoc, the reforms to which this council attended had their impetus in perceived failings of the clergy and the related popularity

of heresy: efforts to improve clerical reputation and skills, lay religious education, the frequency and quality of preaching, and the *cura animarum*. Fourth Lateran articulated these matters of longtime concern and sought to implement many of these reforms; most famously, canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, prescribed that every Christian should confess to his or her own priest and receive the eucharist yearly at Easter. Medieval historians have often observed that the Dominican apostolate arose in the early thirteenth century in tandem with the Roman church's complementary attempts at pastoral reform and instruction.² Dominic's embryonic movement and the council he visited in 1215 to gain papal approval were an obvious confluence of common goals for *cura animarum*, related to earlier currents in penitential discourse and to the hoped-for extirpation of heresy.³ And in 1233, seventeen years after the formal institution of the apostolic *Ordo Praedicatorum*, Gregory IX compared his commission of Dominicans as inquisitors in France to the commission by Christ, "who chose both the twelve apostles and seventy-two others, and sent them before him to preach two by two."⁴ The apostolic model of the gospels, the inspiring genius of the Order of Preachers, applied to the work of the order's inquisitors just as it had to Dominic's foundational ministry.

Pastors and Inquisitors

Scholars of inquisition and of Dominicans have long debated the relationship between Dominic Guzmán's preaching movement, evolving into the Order of Preachers, and the inquisitorial duties some friars would later adopt. Central in such debates are the penitential and pastoral qualities in inquisition versus its repressive preservation of the church's "social body," the nature of Dominic's own ministry, the harmony of Dominican inquisitors with their apostolic order, and the historical and moral points at which Dominican persuasion regarding heresy deteriorated into coercion. Despite Gregory IX's apostolic allusion, historians with diverse commitments have sharply distinguished both Dominic's reconciliation of a returning heretic and the order's later pastoral mission from *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*. For Dominic, it has been simply recalled that papal commissions of friars as inquisitors did not begin until a decade after the founder's death in 1221, and argued more substantively that as preacher and priest, Dominic's imposition of reconciliatory penances differed from later inquisitorial repression, even when identical pun-

ishments were levied.⁵ Similarly, scholarship has generally not reconciled Dominican inquisitors with their order's apostolic vocation. As Laurent Albaret has summarized, while M.-H. Vicaire "timidly" suggested a "primary pastoral intention" among the order's inquisitors, many historians have instead favored "the image of an institution essentially built upon police repression, reinforced by denunciation, interviewing informers, and the systematic documenting of populations."⁶

Key to this perceived gap between Dominic's activity, or the order's apostolate, and inquisition are their differing contexts of coercion and power, and their differing ends. While Élie Griffe conceded the penitential framework of inquisition, he differentiated between "voluntary penitents" and "penitents in spite of themselves." For Annie Cazenave, analyzing the putative resemblances between Dominican pastoral and inquisitorial manuals, there was tension in inquisition's "ambiguous duality": its double character of judicial function and penitential origin, like sacramental confession interested in interiority and the pursuit of sincere confession for salvific reconciliation (in the case of inquisition, the submission to ecclesiastical power). Yet to Cazenave the tension was ultimately resolved by the domination of inquisition's "pastoral" superficialities by its juridical, even "policing" realities, apparent in the genuine differences between "judicial" and sacramental confession (the demand to betray accomplices, to disclose all circumstances of an act, the inquisitor's recourse to ruse and subterfuge). Despite resemblances, dissonance existed between inquisition's "judiciary domain" and "police investigation," striving to eradicate the "social peril" of heresy, and sacramental confession. To Cazenave, "the pastoral concern from which confessors' manuals were born" was lacking in inquisitorial manuals: "Directed to the defense of the church as social body, they sought fundamentally to detect and to exterminate the heretic. His conversion was imposed upon him by force, and if the inquisitor entangled in his judicial activity a sacerdotal action, this remained secondary." Contrasting later medieval proponents of exhaustive sacramental confession with the inquisitors who had adopted such "general confession" a century earlier, Cazenave argued that the former "came from a vigilant piety in the service of the penitent, while the meticulous rigor of Bernard Gui, Nicholas Eymeric, and their predecessors was used for the defense of the institutional church."⁷

Inquisition's repressive character may then seem to render even identical penances unlike in quality. For example, Cyrille Vogel identified the pilgrimage

often imposed on returning heretics as “an afflictive or coercive punishment” rather than an “expiatory penance.” Approaching inquisition from the perspective of political and social institutions and modern Foucauldian discipline, James Given’s analysis of inquisitorial punishments has also challenged their identification as penitential. He argued that although one might initially expect that inquisitorial imprisonment shared a modern interest in “moral education,” given the language of penance in church and inquisition, this was not so. Far from the “Benthamite panopticon,” inquisitorial prisons were often lax and always unstructured, without a “special penitential regime” “that would actively reshape a penitent’s character and imprint within it a new set of values or behavioral norms.” To Given, this omission was recompensed by punishment’s utility “as a form of social control.” Similarly, to John Arnold, inquisition’s transformation of “the delimited ritual of penance into a powerful system for representation and control” chiefly aimed at the creation of categories of transgression and individual subjectivity for purposes of power.⁸ Generally, our image of the Dominicans themselves parallels Raoul Manselli’s sketch of the temporal evolution from persuasion to coercion in ecclesiastical activity against heresy. The conclusion that heresy could not be vanquished “in free debate” with truth alone invited force as the only effective tool, placing “the Christian conscience . . . on the way of intolerance.” While Manselli fixed 1184 as the date of this passage, we might read the proposed transition from gently reconciling Dominic to repressive inquisitors in his order—or even from originally pastoral inquisitors to “policing” ones protecting the “social body” of the “institutional church”—as another instance of *persuasio* deteriorating into *coercitio*.⁹

However, we should reconsider these binaries of persuasion versus coercion, and gentle pastor tending souls versus harsh inquisitor policing society. Most simply, after the Albigensian Crusade, Dominican mission continued to have a complex relationship with heresy. Attendance at antiheretical sermons could be mandatory, and we have seen that the *alleluia* movement that gripped Italian cities in the 1230s featured the addition of antiheretical policies to civil statutes.¹⁰ More substantively, there is a mediating alternative, or rather a lateral move away from these binaries. We might step back and consider how Dominic’s reconciliation of Pons and inquisition’s coercive repression were alike: not because Dominic was an inquisitor (he was not) or because inquisitors’ activity was not repressive or coercive (it was). Instead, both extended a particular kind of spiritual discipline to the laity that was the

inheritor, product, and companion of several interrelated ecclesiastical legacies, beginning with Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century. We might read the interaction of heresy inquisitor and individual Christian touched by heresy—a significantly expansive category—against the backdrop of those legacies: penance and interiorization; ideologies of papal monarchy and universal *ecclesia*; the balance between Gregorian Reform’s solidification of the boundaries between clergy and laity and the development of varieties of lay religiosity, including the “monasticization” of the laity; the increasing sophistication of canon law and companionate articulation of the transcendent quality of its jurisdiction. We might place inquisitorial practice—its coercion, its violence—not within the frames of earthly “social control” or political order, but against the stunningly vast backdrop of soul, body, and community assembled by previous and contemporary Christian-ecclesiastical dynamics extending far beyond the church’s application of *inquisitio* to heresy. What we see in inquisition’s spiritual discipline is a working out in practice (part of a larger negotiation we have already often glimpsed) of what it meant to be properly *religiosus*, an ideally obedient and faithful member of the universal Christian community of the church, supervised by God.

The Ecclesiastical Context of Inquisitorial Discipline

If Fourth Lateran rose from previous currents of thinking about confession to a cresting articulation in *Omnis utriusque sexus*, it also did so in voicing with new insistence an ambitious ecclesiology of universal community. In its first canon, the council neatly plotted the vast, comprehensive space and time that lay under the care of God and his church, of which the Trinity was the theological and chronological organizing principle. God had created the world as good, which was then perverted by man and Satan; the Holy Spirit had thence tried to instruct humans on salvation through the prophets. Christ had then come to “show the way of life in all its clearness.” But he would also “come at the end of the world to judge the living and the dead, and to render to each according to his works, both to the reprobate and to the elect,” the former to receive “perpetual punishment with the devil” and the latter “everlasting glory with Christ.” Reassuringly, humans had not been left to stumble toward that coming judgment with nothing but their imperfection in which to trust. Christ had also established means for negotiation and reparation,

founding a church as a way of conducting the running dialogue of condemnation and forgiveness that would continue to that final judgment. He and the hope of his “everlasting glory” were ever (and solely) accessible through the sacraments, themselves only conferred by priests “properly ordained according to the keys of the church.” This was not, of course, brand-new theology.¹¹ More specifically, this canon, like the council generally, was an heir of ideologies of papal monarchy and universal community prominent since eleventh-century Gregorian Reform. As articulated by the canon, both history and geography had become enveloped in Christian salvation, linking the individual soul to the chain of sacraments mediated by sacerdotal authority, its own power guaranteed by apostolic succession.

But while this Christian cosmography was not quite different now, the rules of membership were. The council’s opening canon hints at new implications for the ways in which individual souls were to locate themselves within this surpassing community headed by God, their peculiar character as *religiosi* alongside the monks and nuns who had long borne that name. The canon promised that “not only virgins and the continent, but also married people, pleasing God through right faith and good work, deserve to attain eternal blessedness.”¹² This reassurance obviously countered heretical disparagements of marriage as legalized whoredom, as well as the Pauline question of whether celibacy was a superior spiritual state to marriage. Yet it also reflected a new quality of lay membership within this “universal church,” in which all the baptized were “the religious,” sharing obligations in its economy of salvation. Gregorian Reform’s insistent firming of boundaries between clergy and laity is well known, ranging from the famous battle over investiture to diminution of secular roles in local church politics to the eradication of the respected figure of the priest’s concubine.¹³ But as Duane Osheim observed, Gratian’s tidy distinction in the *Decretum* (c.1140) between “two kinds of Christians” was in practice denied by numerous blurrings between “lay” and “religious” in the high Middle Ages. André Vauchez has traced several of these blurrings: lay saints, lay confraternities, tertiaries, persons under vows but remaining in the world, *conversi*. For some laypeople in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, penance became a “way of life” outside the monastery and in the world, a lay seizure of the apostolic ideal. To Vauchez, we witness in this period the formation of a “hybrid” *laicus religiosus*, leading the canonist Hostiensis to concede circa 1255 that “in a broad sense, we use the term ‘religious’ for people who live in a holy and religious manner in their own

homes.”¹⁴ Hostiensis referred here precisely to those who had adopted a particular manner of “religious” life in the world, rather than to all laypeople. But in a more generous configuration, Jacques de Vitry (d.1240) opined that “all the faithful of Christ who serve the Lord under the gospel’s rule” were themselves *regulares*, living “by the orders of the single greatest abbot . . . of all.” Fourth Lateran’s initial canon thus echoed what M.-D. Chenu termed a contemporary sacralization of the secular, a new “claim for the Christian value—the apostolic value—of all walks of life.” No longer was the earthly monastery the exemplar of (or, sole avenue for) the apostolic life and of Christian community.¹⁵ However, this did not quite mean the devaluation of the monastic model. Rather, one way to conceptualize the change described by Chenu and Vauchez is that even imperfect earthly society, with its recognized limits and failures, became bound up in a transcendent “monastery” of the universal church, with demands for Christian obedience and behavior, and insistence upon the superiority of pope and God, that “single greatest abbot.”

Consequently, “claim for the Christian value . . . of all walks of life” depended upon particular behavior and duties in this community. Its economy of salvation was expansive and hierarchical; all must willingly and joyfully subject themselves, and to do so only under the aegis, and with the sacramental mechanisms, of the Roman church. According to Chenu, the “sacralization of the secular” was reflected liturgically in contemporary pastoral thinking on, and attempted reform of, the practice of sacramental confession, turning monasticism’s monopoly on penance, with vicarious utility for those outside, outward. While Fourth Lateran’s *Omnis utriusque sexus* was a famous articulation of a desire for pastoral reform, several scholars have nuanced our understanding of the council as penitential revolution, attending both to its ancestors in penitential discourse, and to the implementation of its canons after 1215. For the former, John Baldwin and others have remarked the significance of the attentive revisions of twelfth-century Paris schoolmen, especially Peter Abelard and the circle of Peter the Chanter, on the practice and theory of penance. To generalize, the schoolmen’s distillation of past and contemporary theological and legal thinking on penance, combined with a keen interest in practical cases, led to a crucial move toward individual circumstance and internal contrition, an ostensible distancing from a flat “sin” recompensed by the body to a more complicated, and interiorized, discrimination of fault fixed to the soul.¹⁶ The theory and practice of compensatory penance settled into the triad of *contritio*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio*. While this schema was a

venerable one, with roots in Augustine, its high-medieval form could be traced to the twelfth-century schoolmen, with Peter Abelard's division of penance into *penitentia*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio*. Abelard's interest in intention concentrated his focus on the first, *penitentia* (his *contritio*), as the basis of restorative penance, an interior sorrow flowing forth in oral confession. In 1192, Peter the Chanter added first an infusion of grace to *contritio*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio* (as *tria sine primo insufficientia sunt*), which appears to echo contemporary debate on which part of this cluster was sacramentally efficient.¹⁷ And for confession and penance post-1215, Fourth Lateran's instructions were a beginning, rather than the end, of reform. Mary Mansfield, for example, contended against the position that saw the council's mandate as a final enshrinement of private penance, arguing for a more complicated interplay of public and private, individual and community penance even after 1215.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the shift in emphasis to inner contrition expressed through oral confession and fulfilled by a work of satisfaction—cultivated by the twelfth-century schoolmen and pursued formally by Fourth Lateran in 1215—was aided by the continuing translation of academic theologians' work into practice.¹⁹ In Vauchez's description, the Roman church's "campaign of interior reconquest" in the twelfth century, related to renovations in penitential thinking and engendered partly by lay spiritual hunger, was an ironic companion to the "expansionist dynamism" begun in Gregorian Reform's "vast program for the Christian reconquest of the world." We might, however, see both as manifesting different aspects of belonging to the Roman church's universal community.²⁰ As Talal Asad has reminded us, the Roman church's "new regime of penance" in the thirteenth century was an extension of monasticism's *disciplina*—observation of oneself and others, correction, cultivating the will to obey rather than forcing one to obey—to all lay Christians.²¹

However, the role of interiority in pastoral thinking and reform, and its links to heresy inquisitions, must contend with the difference between the external and internal *fora* that responded to and resolved the Christian's guilt. Twelfth- and early thirteenth-century schoolmen struggled to define the differences between external and internal penance: between the motive and the external act in the sin, the contrition and the satisfactory act in its reparation, the eternal and the temporal penalty, *penitentia* and *poena*. Again to generalize, the division between interior and exterior penance was between secret contrition, not necessarily linked to the sacrament, and external act. In addition, sin's fault was against God but also against neighbor, to whom one had

(if nothing else) given a “bad example.” One might then be assigned an act that reversed that bad example, a temporal punishment satisfying that obligation. In the mid-thirteenth century, a distinction between the interior forum and exterior forum was drawn that imputed penance to the former and judgment to the latter. Instead of a distinction between inner contrition (interior penance) and external act (exterior penance), the interior forum was generally the preserve of faults for individual penance, while the exterior forum considered faults of public concern for the church that deserved excommunication.

Mansfield has observed the subtlety and even confusion of the diverse perspectives among twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians on how Christians recompensed for sin.²² Here, however, we might usefully apply these nuances of different *fora* attending to “punishment” as we seek to understand the quality of the confrontation between inquisitor and Christian, especially inquisitors belonging to an order devoted to the *cura animarum*. The theologians’ struggles to define these *fora* and the relations between inner and outer penance remind us of the expansiveness of divine jurisdiction, and in turn of the premises and nature of the canon law that governed that external forum. Most obviously, discriminations between *poena* and *penitentia* still presumed an ecclesiastical context and the supervision of a presiding cleric. “Crimes” to be “punished” could remain within that context, even if—as was the case with heresy, a *crimen exceptum*—they also incurred secular punishments. And we must also contextualize inquisition’s language of “judge,” “crime,” and “penalty” within the Christian premises of ecclesiastical courts and canon law. As is well known, the twelfth century particularly witnessed the intellectual and institutional sophistication of canon law, with the success of Gratian’s *Decretum*, the institution of canon law in university study, and the subsequent self-consciousness of popes (themselves often lawyers) that their issued texts would eventually form part of collections like the *Decretals* (1234), collated by the Dominican Raymond of Peñafort. Contemporary reflection on canon law was embedded within these ecclesiological currents and within medieval Christianity’s spiritual geography. Pierre Michaud-Quantin has commented that to Raymond of Peñafort and fellow canonists, even canon law’s attention to external matters (rather than to intention) was imbued with a heavy “moral density,” as it was a way for “divine will” to shape the Christian’s conduct, rendering the errors to which it attended “a moral fault, a sin.”²³ As John Van Engen has argued, canonists’ cogitations on their proper role vis-à-vis theologians on the one hand, and civil lawyers on the other, led

to their determinations of the spiritual character of their work within the transcendent community of universal *ecclesia*. Canon law was a site of mediation between worlds, canonists' work a "practical theology" that brought the grandeur of God's governance to the daily life of the Christian. Consequently, the law of this court, the determination of its judges, was aimed at sublime ends: to Gerard of Siena, while the principal end of civil law was "to maintain civil society," that of canon law was "to ordain to God and to evangelical law so that a person may attain grace."²⁴ His fellow canonist Hostiensis echoed this; the purpose of canon law was "so that as in this world we lived soberly, justly, and piously, we might be worthy to come to the heavenly kingdom."²⁵

This is a simple reminder that language of crime, law, penalty, and defense in *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* excluded neither Christian-ecclesiastical jurisdiction nor the soteriology of which its justice formed a part. The process of *inquisitio* applied to heresy is a forceful instance of how church law in the high Middle Ages—as canonists exponentially expanded the number of matters to be categorized as "spiritual things," as opposed to temporal, pertaining to it—intended to pursue the salvation of souls by governing aspects of the religious lives of medieval Christians.²⁶ When reading heresy inquisitions, we must beware the opposition between "pastor" and "judge" that compartmentalizes the latter into "only" civil judgment and that evacuates those moral and soteriological concerns from ecclesiastical judgment. The "inquisitorial forum" was not the "other" of confession and penance, but rather its intertwining double.

Our lateral move, then, is away from Dominic's pastoral reconciliation versus an inquisition "essentially built upon police repression," as we view a wider context in which the Roman church extended a specific kind of spiritual discipline to individual Christians in the thirteenth century. Heresy inquisitions depended upon that transcendent community governed by God through the pope; reflected the demand for willingly belonging to it; negotiated the inner forum of penance with the salvific power of an "external" ecclesiastical court; and transformed those Christians found guilty of heresy into a different kind of "lay religious" in the world. Crucially, this spiritual discipline embedded the bodily chastisement utilized in monastic tradition (and in canonical punishment) that we must keep in mind as we weigh pre-inquisitorial persuasion against inquisitorial coercion. And as Vauchez observed, the mendicant orders were instrumental in this "monasticization" of the laity, and this is a key reason to examine the mentalities of Dominican inquisitors specifically.²⁷ The Order of Preachers, with its vocation to "save souls," sought "those who go

astray,” disciplining sinful Christians of all kinds, guiding the will to belong rightly to God’s universal monastery. Dominic’s reconciliation of a penitent Pons Roger was indeed performed as papal legate, and not as inquisitor. And that is why it is so important. This former heretic was, in effect, to become a kind of *laicus religiosus* in the world: wearing “religious clothing,” fasting, being flogged, worshipping daily, regularly observed *ad infinitum* by a spiritual superior, his local priest. Pons’s reconciliation demonstrates this spiritual discipline precisely of a Christian layperson who putatively believed himself able to secede from the church’s transcendent community. Dominic imposed upon this returning heretic a harsh economy of body and soul, and in doing so he reflected contemporary ecclesiastical ideologies of reform, individuation, community, and lay religiosity, and established a paradigm for friars who would be inquisitors.²⁸ Dominican inquisitors attended to a comparatively small number of laypeople. But we might view *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* as an aggrandized version of “monasticization” for the “worse” sinners—an exaggeration of the norm precisely for those Christians who supposedly needed it most, particularly because their sin lay in contestation over the nature of this universal community. As the inquisitor Izarn said in the poetic debate with the heretic Sicart de Figueiras, composed in Provençal circa 1244, “all the sins of the world that one can say or do by mouth or by hand must give way to heresy.” Heresy in its various categories (*fautor*, etc.) was a kind of reserved sin, which because of its enormity was unable to be absolved by parish priest, and left to a bishop or a papal legate, the inquisitor.²⁹ Those Christians putatively stained by heresy—a notably expansive category—were placed within an economy of body and soul that cultivated the obedient will through observation, investigation, and correction. If we have so far viewed inquisition itself as a kind of contested conversation over the content and character of the Christian faith, conducted most richly by Dominicans whose mission was to work in the world, here its practice interrogated the nature of lay-Christian experience and status, the extent of universal *ecclesia*, the quality of discipline of all Christian bodies and souls.³⁰

Dominican Discipline

Let us first consider Dominican spiritual discipline through the penance and punishment outlined by Raymond of Peñafort, and through the order’s own

practice. Neither was brand-new or unique, but were in different ways paradigmatic of the various legacies treated above, and help us to contextualize more immediately the Christian mentalities of Dominican inquisitors. Raymond of Peñafort was particularly placed to pursue the ecclesiastical cosmography grown from Gregorian Reform and crystallized in Fourth Lateran, and more specifically the related Dominican efforts of an apostolate of preaching, teaching, and pastoral care, and heresy inquisitions. Professor of canon law at Bologna, Raymond was commissioned by Gregory IX to compile the *Decretals* (1234); a papal chaplain, his close relationship with Gregory extended to heresy inquisitions. It was only due to Raymond's initiative that Gregory's request in 1232 to the archbishop of Tarragona that he conduct inquisitions with Dominicans was finally fulfilled in 1237. In addition, Raymond is credited with a inquisitors' manual compiled at the end of 1241 or beginning of 1242. The manual resulted from consultations given by Raymond ("according to the discretion given to him by the Lord") to Pere d'Albalat, Dominican archbishop of Tarragona from 1238 to 1251. Directed to the diocesan and episcopal judges in Tarragona, it was intended by Pere and the chapter to regularize *inquisitiones* among diocesan judges. The manual quickly traveled to Dominican inquisitors in Languedoc and was used as a source for the anonymous *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* (c.1280).³¹ Raymond was also master general of the Order of Preachers from 1238 to his resignation in 1240, and he contributed to its pastoral work by composing a *Summa de paenitentia et de matrimonio*, an influential example of the friars' thirteenth-century success and popularity in the venerable genre of penitential literature.³² The first edition of Raymond's confessors' manual was written circa 1225 and the second appeared circa 1235, when Raymond added his revision of the canonist Tancred of Bologna's book on marriage.³³ Raymond explained in the *Summa*'s preface that he had compiled it to solve vexing questions "when the brothers of our order, or others, should perhaps doubt concerning the judgment of souls in the penitential forum."³⁴ Reflecting both these practical demands and the twelfth-century schoolmen's concentration of penitential theory in cases, Raymond's *summa* unsurprisingly comprised the treatment of various faults, and only in the final section of book three did Raymond approach penance more theoretically.³⁵ Annie Cazenave has commented on Raymond's "double disciplinary and pastoral concern" in his authorship of both pastoral and inquisitorial manuals.³⁶ Yet we should be careful to locate that "double disciplinary and pastoral concern" within the context of Ray-

mond's theology of canon law and its salvific governance of human behavior. As Michaud-Quantin argued, for Raymond, the "judgment of souls in the penitential forum" was the application of canon law to the confessor's examination of conscience. The "penitential forum" judged interior motive rather than external act, but the external acts with which canon law was concerned still constituted sin because of that law's divine origin. As Van Engen has described, the internal forum of penance was another court that canonists claimed as their jurisdiction, "extending the work of the practical theologian into the interior lives of believers."³⁷

In book three of the *Summa de paenitentia*, Raymond offered a concise sketch, condensed from several canonical texts, of one means to determine a Christian's fault: the method of *inquisitio*. Raymond claimed biblical warrant for *inquisitio* in both Old and New Testaments, citing Genesis 18:20–21 (in which God, having heard the outcry against Sodom and Gomorrah, decided to descend and investigate) and Luke 16:1–2 (the parable of the rich man who heard that his steward was wasting his goods and summoned him for questioning). If a bad reputation or reports of wrongdoing "should come to the ears of a superior from upright and honest persons," the superior as judge should summon the accusers, "so that the crime might be heard canonically." If the accuser did not appear but *mala fama* continued, "then the bishop, having called the senior members of his church, may proceed to the inquisition." He against whom the inquisition was conducted should be present to hear the charges to be investigated, "so that he might be able to defend himself." Both the charges and the names of the persons levying them were to be made public. The inquisitor was required to visit the place where the accused lived, "because there he is better able to inquire on his life and reputation." If he was "convicted" (implying here both being found guilty and recognizing that guilt), the accused was "punished canonically"; if not, but *mala fama* persisted, the judge should exhort him to correction. If this were refused, he should be suspended "until the worthy satisfaction" of compurgation. For those convicted through *inquisitio* of a serious crime like simony or homicide, the *poena* was that "even after penance" he may be removed from office. Although in this discussion generally Raymond apparently imagined an individual cleric as the accused, he also noted that an *inquisitio* could be licitly conducted by a spiritual superior into "the state of an entire monastery or church, both in head and in members."³⁸

This description of *inquisitio* was immediately followed by Raymond's

complicated outline of canonical punishments. Beginning an elaborate diagramming of *poenae*, Raymond divided these into two categories—eternal and temporal—while quickly dispatching the former as a topic for analysis (“non prosequor”). Temporal punishments were in turn divided into canonical and legal, with canonical punishments further subdivided into three kinds: spiritual, corporal, and pecuniary. Corporal punishments included fasting or abstinence (often imposed upon those imprisoned for contumacy or other serious crimes: an indication that Raymond had clerics in mind as the subjects of these canonical punishments); flogging; servitude; *publicatio omnium bonorum*; and exile. Exile, Raymond explained, could connote both the requirement to be in a certain place (for example, a monastery) and to avoid a certain place; in addition, exile could mean forbidding the guilty to remain in any place for more than a day or two—a punishment of perpetual wandering. (Imprisonment, then, was a form of exile.) Pecuniary *poenae* meant either making restitution for a specific guilt (for example, restoring what one had stolen) or making restitution for an injury to a person or place. As he had with *poena aeterna*, Raymond cursorily mentioned *poena legalis*, briefly citing death, dismemberment, deportation, proscription, exile, “and many other things that I will not pursue.”³⁹ In this sketch of the canonical punishments that might follow an *inquisitio*—the *poenae* imposed by a superior upon a culpable *religiosus*—we see obvious reflections of the punishments imposed in penance on those proclaimed guilty after an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*.

In Raymond’s *Summa*, *penitentia* appeared after these *poenae* and an outline of absolution.⁴⁰ And in this discussion of *penitentia*, Raymond echoed ecclesiastical predecessors in his schema by which a Christian made reparation to God for sin. To Raymond, for “true and perfect penance” the sinner needed to have contrition of the heart, to make confession with the mouth, and then to make satisfaction with a work (*cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio*). As we saw above, this triad was commonly discussed in penitential literature prior to, and contemporary with, Raymond. To Raymond, contrition was “grief” over one’s sin and its offense to God, infused with “shame” and “fear of the day of judgment and pain of gehenna.” In the hope of graceful pardon, the sinner must resolve not to commit the sin in the future and to confess and make reparation for what had already been committed.⁴¹ The development of this contrition and the need for confession’s exhaustive “integrity” demanded instruction—informing or persuading the sinner that something was sinful—and an investigation of circumstance and

intention. Raymond opined then that although all did not agree, he believed that *interrogationes* in confession were licit, quoting as support Augustine on John 8:7: "Therefore a diligent inquisitor, a subtle investigator, wisely and as if astutely should ask the sinner about what perhaps he does not know, or that shame wishes to conceal." Raymond's quotation here also alluded to Fourth Lateran's *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which required the priest in yearly confession to be a *diligens inquisitor* in this diagnostic interrogation. And Raymond's exposition of a confessor's conversation with a sinner as thorough and proactive, eliciting all shades and possibilities of sin in order to effect a complete cleansing, echoed that canon again in its evocation of traditional imagery, hearkening back to the first-century church, of the priest as doctor of souls: "and so subtly the twisting serpent is to be led out, with the hand of a midwife, from the bosom of the sinner." Raymond also evoked this medical imagery in quoting a little mnemonic verse for the confessor's examination of conscience: "Who, what, where, by whom, how many times, why, how, when/Anyone may observe when giving medicines of the soul."⁴² Lurking behind the need for exhaustive questioning and for the "integrity" of *interrogatio* and confession were the consequences of their omission or incompleteness. If the person was reluctant and "does not wish to confess" from embarrassment or another reason, the confessor "may propose to him the terrors of judgment, the pains of hell."⁴³ Following twelfth-century predecessors on the need to nurture contrition and to determine intention by thorough reconstruction of individual circumstance, Raymond's penitential manual prescribed a "diligent" "inquiry" that peered into the soul for the delicate extraction of what was concealed, individualized both in its questioning to nurture contrition and consequently in its imposition of appropriate reparative penances.

As *confessio oris* was hoped to be the external expression of that *contritio cordis*, the third ingredient, *satisfactio operis*, was its proof and reparative fulfillment. And "perfect penitence compels the sinner to suffer all things gladly."⁴⁴ To Raymond, the "exterior penance" of satisfaction consisted in "prayer, fasting, and charity [*eleemosyna*]," a trine that significantly "opposed" the "devil's nefarious triad" of pride, carnal concupiscence, and greed. Raymond remarked that alternatively, however, one could say that *satisfactio* denoted only "two things . . . the dispensing of charity and maceration of the flesh." "Charity" involved not only the fruits of contrition in sacrifice to God, but also compassion and practical assistance to neighbors. Much more explicitly, Raymond parsed "maceration of the flesh" with four subtypes of

penances: prayers, vigils, fasts, and floggings. Each was an expansive category; prayers and vigils included a variety of worship, and “fasts” could mean abstinence not only from material food but also from any joy or sin. Penitential “floggings” denoted the “discipline” of beatings, and also other forms of bodily chastisement such as striking the breast, wearing a hairshirt, kneeling, “the affliction of pilgrimage,” or a God-sent illness.⁴⁵ Raymond also followed previous theoreticians of penance by distinguishing its three kinds: solemn, public, and private, depending on the nature of the error and the confession.⁴⁶

The *Summa de paenitentia* attended to heresy as one of these errors, and specifically as a “crime against God.” To Raymond, while Jews and Muslims “dishonor God through infidelity,” heretics “deviating from the faith, sin against God in many ways.” The distinction between *inhonorare* and *peccare*, and between *infidelitas* and *devians a fide*, signals this Dominican’s affirmation that heretics—despite whatever belief they might possess in their ability to secede from the Roman church—still belonged to the universal community of Christian spiritual jurisdiction channeled through sacerdotal authority.⁴⁷ Raymond explained that while one might be called a heretic for various reasons, his *summa* would attend only to those “wandering from the faith.” Heretics were to be punished with “excommunication, deposition, ablation of things, and military persecution”; under these rubrics were listed other penalties. Excommunication was imposed *ipso facto*. In addition to removal from all clerical or worldly offices, the penalty of deposition encompassed that “they are relinquished” to secular authority “to be punished with the deserved punishment.” “If . . . they wish to return to do condign penance, they are to be put into perpetual prison.” Military persecution was a means of stripping heretics from resources and power that did not justly belong to the “impious,” and the church had extended to “catholic men” the authority for such spoiling. Those returning from heresy should abjure heresy before their bishop, “publicly or privately, according to whether the crime was public or private.”⁴⁸ Unsurprisingly for a canonist, Raymond cited several papal texts on *inquisitio* in support of these responses to heresy, including Lucius III’s *Ad abolendam* (1184), Innocent III’s *Vergentis in senium* (1199), and Gregory IX’s own *Excommunicamus* (1231). Canon law was moral law, organizing humans’ relationships with each other but also with God, via the church. And to Raymond, heresy was a perversion of those relationships; like schism, it was a kind of apostasy, “a rash falling back from a state of faith, obedience, or religion.”⁴⁹

In addition to Raymond’s importance as an architect of penance and in-

quisition, the Order of Preachers' own practice offers another perspective on the spiritual discipline of Dominican inquisitors. Although the monastic discipline of body and soul had been long shaped by the Benedictines, and assumed by other orders, the friar inquisitors who dominated heresy inquisitions carried into the world their particular version. Innocent III's instructions to Dominic that the nascent order adopt an extant *regula* led to the community's selection of the Augustinian rule in 1216. In addition, the order filled this rule's gaps by writing constitutions based on the customs of the Praemonstratensian canons. According to Jordan of Saxony, Dominic's successor as master general, this allowed the community to impose upon itself a greater strictness permeating the details of daily life.⁵⁰ As a mendicant order, the new ministry de-emphasized the traditional monastic demand of stability, but reinforced in its place the equally traditional insistence upon obedience and the authority of the superior. The chapter in the Dominican Constitutions on the master of novices provided a sketch of the ideally disciplined member of the Order of Preachers, groomed to conduct himself properly in all aspects of its Christian *conversatio*:

Let him teach them to have humility of heart and body and let him strive to instruct to this end, according to this: *Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart* [Matthew 11:29]. [He should instruct them] to confess frequently, purely, and with discernment, to live without property and to abandon their own will for the will of their prelate; to observe voluntary obedience in all things. How they ought to conduct themselves everywhere and in all things. . . .⁵¹

The discernment in confessing sin, demanded of novices, was extended more wholly for full friars, who should be vigilant both about themselves and others. Observation, "the identification and correction of faults," was an important part of monastic discipline; that correction, even through pain, enabled the strict shaping of the will. Searching out oneself and others for obvious, hidden, and denied sins was prescribed in the Dominican Constitutions.⁵² The order's daily "chapter of faults" was a public arena for the brothers to accuse themselves and others of infractions, and to make reparation:

When [the novices] have left, the presider says, "Let those who think themselves guilty request pardon." Immediately those who understand

themselves to be guilty beg pardon while prostrate. Finally rising, humbly they confess their sins. And those whose fault is such that it is worthy of correction prepare themselves for correction. Which correction the prior, or he upon whom [the task] is enjoined, does. In the chapter, the brothers do not speak except for two reasons: namely, simply in speaking their faults or those of others, and in responding to their prelates only to the things that are asked. No one should make a proclamation about anyone on suspicion alone.⁵³

While the chapter was designed to disclose one's own examined faults, and those of others based on observation and sound knowledge, greater faults (or the failure of brothers to be forthcoming) warranted a formal *inquisitio*. As we would expect from Raymond's discussion, and even more so from the ecclesiastical deployment of this method since the twelfth century, the order appointed particular brothers to conduct *inquisitiones* after public reports of wrongdoing, or *mala fama*. For example, Brother G. de Sancto Setano was commissioned in 1292 to "inquire diligently about the guilt" of the subprior of Narbonne and other brothers there, who had insulted and injured the diffinitor of the Roman province, and consequently to punish them. This same procedure was ordered in 1294 ("de hoc inquirat diligenter et graviter puniat") for Arnaud Duprat, lector at Toulouse (and future heresy inquisitor), reported to have composed scurrilous songs about the Dominicans Latinus Malabranca, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and his successor Hugo Aysselin Seguin de Billom.⁵⁴ Reminding us that inquisitors themselves were not exempt from ecclesiastical discipline, the general chapter in 1321 ordered all Dominican provincial priors to "inquire diligently" into the excesses of inquisitors "either in the manner of proceeding or in the extortion of money or even in pomp in food and clothing and regular observance." Those found to be guilty were to be removed from office.⁵⁵

Inquisitio was applied to investigating heresy within the order, just as it was outside it. The general chapter in 1278 commanded brothers Raymond de Medullione and Jean Vigouroux to travel to England, investigating and if necessary punishing some brothers there reportedly disparaging the writings of Thomas Aquinas. Jean Vigouroux apparently conducted this investigation skillfully, as three years later he was named heresy inquisitor of Toulouse. In a case in 1325, Gervase, prior of the house at Angers in France, was appointed to "inquire" and if necessary to "punish" and to "coerce" friars in Germany

who were reported to be preaching in the vernacular, possibly leading “common and rough persons” into error.⁵⁶ In 1321, master general Harvey Brito announced that he and a group of colleagues (including “inquisitor” Benedict de Pesculo) had received oral and written testimony about certain Dominican friars from the Roman province “who are called spirituals by some people.” In a “diligent inquisition,” nothing had been proven against these friars in matters of faith or good custom; “nor also did we find in them a singularity of life founded on a certain heresy or error.” Harvey nevertheless warned that all brothers adopting irregularities that could invite “scandal or error” were subject to “exceedingly grave punishments.” While the “error” of these “spirituals” is not explicit in the order’s *Acta*, we saw above that Harvey’s successor Barnabas of Vercelli commanded preaching against Michael of Cesena, Louis of Bavaria, and antipope Nicholas V in 1330; at the same time, he decreed that all priors were to “diligently search out” and imprison brothers sympathetic to these three, or assisting “their accomplices, heretics and schismatics condemned by the holy Roman church.”⁵⁷

The correction imposed as a result of confession or denunciation at the chapter of faults, and more seriously the consequences of an *inquisitio*, were then worked out on the body. The Benedictine Rule had institutionalized punitive and penitential flogging, and Humbert of Romans observed, in explaining Dominican practice in *Expositio in constitutiones* (1263–1277), that monastic tradition had long valued the penitential use of pain. “Religious are wont frequently to receive” blows called *disciplinas* for the purposes of devotion, castigation, humility, and penance. Devotion was increased through the memory of Christ’s and the apostles’ suffering and flagellation, and monastic discipline commemorated and imitated their patient holiness: “if such and so great people received so great and such *disciplinas*, how ought we to pass over without discipline?” The painful chastisement of the flesh deterred sin, “for thus the saints sometimes castigate their body: for there is no temptation of the flesh strong enough that it does not flee before the discipline of rods.”⁵⁸ While the Dominicans practiced nightly flogging at compline, for the above reasons as well as in emulation of Dominic’s own model of daily discipline, the “penance” of flogging was also applied responsively and individually. As Humbert explained, pain made reparation for sins already committed.⁵⁹ The *Acta* of the order’s general chapters during this period show that the penitential discipline of “hardly and severely correcting” through the body was often employed on wayward brothers. Beating as penance for faults first appears

formally in the *Acta* in 1236; henceforth, general chapters frequently imposed a specific quantity of blows, often teamed with fasting and masses, for a friar's particular misdeeds, or preemptively established them as an institutionalized punishment for a particular transgression. Disobedience and violations of right order were the most common faults that incurred *disciplinas* as punishment, most notably infringing the rules about pastoral care for religious women, disrespect to superiors, and attendance without permission at the order's yearly general chapter.⁶⁰

While the *Acta* are legislative and prescriptive texts, punitive flogging was celebrated in Gerard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*, the encomium of imitable brothers issued in the mid-thirteenth century as encouragement amid the order's contemporary troubles. Many of these accounts involved truculent brothers unable to weigh correctly the temporary pains of Dominican obedience and severity against their atoning and spiritually disciplining value.⁶¹ In the *Vitae fratrum*'s chapter on "the vigor of discipline and perfection of virtues," Gerard recounted brutal beatings given by Reginald of Orléans, prior of Bologna in 1219. In one, a "grumbling" friar refused humbly to acknowledge guilt after being reprimanded for an unauthorized gift. After a prayer to Christ, "who gave to your servant Benedict the power to expel from the heart of his monk the spur of a demon," that "by the power of this discipline the temptation of the devil may be expelled from the soul of this brother," Reginald beat the friar so violently that it drove his watching brethren to tears. Another friar, wishing to abandon the harsh life of the Dominicans and caught during his attempted escape, was flogged energetically by Reginald, who "wish[ed] through discipline and prayer to drive the demon" of that wicked desire "from his heart."⁶² These tales may have been intended to defend against critics outside of the order, and were probably also an idealized charge against perceived laxity among Gerard's contemporaries. Nevertheless, they confirm the *Acta*'s use of bodily pain as punishment for sin and spur to obedience and humility by subduing stubbornness, an economy that was traditional in monastic practice, as both Humbert and Reginald indicated.

In more serious cases, Dominicans subjected the bodies of disordered brothers to greater strictness by imprisoning them: another monastic custom and canonical punishment, as a form of exile. Although the order's first formal instruction to imprison appears in the *Acta* a few years after friars' initial appointments as inquisitors, the inspiration was certainly monastic, as Benedictine and Cistercian houses had long restrained errant brothers in prison.⁶³

The general chapter in 1238 instructed all priors to create in their houses “prisons to confine apostates and restless brothers,” and granted them “license to take captive apostates and to correct those who go about irregularly.” Two years later, the general chapter extended imprisonment “to curb the insolence of perverse [friars].”⁶⁴ General chapters repeatedly urged both provincial and conventual priors to construct prisons, as in the 1274 instruction that “provincial priors should make prisons in all the convents of their province.” Another general reminder given in 1296 stressed the gravity of this penalty:

we wish and ordain and strictly enjoin on all priors that in every convent there be firm and secure prisons. Brothers are not incarcerated for their faults without the previous deliberation and counsel of discreet men, for after they have been thus imprisoned they are not released from there easily and without the counsel and assent of the provincial prior and diffinitors.⁶⁵

While yet another reiteration, by the general chapter in 1302, that “every convent should have a secure prison” suggests that few priors were installing them in their houses, an accompanying concession perhaps explains this failure: “unless the notable smallness of the place impedes [it].”⁶⁶ The gravity of incarceration and its penitential character was underscored again in 1321, when brothers were firmly reminded that imprisoned friars could be released only by the diffinitors of the general chapter, only after a year, and “not even then unless first it is established from his true and perfect penitence that he has been chastised, according to the quantity and quality of the crime.” Anyone freed by the general chapter, but later relapsing, was to be imprisoned permanently.⁶⁷

It is notable that when these corporal punishments of flogging and imprisonment were imposed, the disobedient, apostates, and brothers dabbling in alchemy were chief targets. The Dominican Constitutions specified that the apostate who did not return within forty days was excommunicate. If he did return, he was to attend chapter, stripped and carrying rods with which he was flogged; he should “prostrate [himself], speak his guilt, and humbled, ask pardon.” Every Sunday he should likewise attend the chapter, and during this “time of penance” fast two days weekly on bread and water for a year.⁶⁸ The general chapters of 1287, 1289, 1313, and 1323 all reiterated that those violating the order’s ban on alchemy were to be imprisoned.⁶⁹ The order’s

strictest discipline was primarily concerned with punishing a willful turning away: the attempt to escape vows, superiors, identity, strictures, the pious benefits of this *conversatio*, discipline itself. When two brothers in Strasbourg violently attacked and imprisoned their provincial prior, they were sentenced in 1321 to perpetual prison, receiving only enough bread and water to keep body and soul together.⁷⁰ Heresy inquisitors were not immune. The famous Robert le Bougre was sent in 1231 as inquisitor to La Charité-sur-Loire in northern France, and his madly enthusiastic arrests and burnings quickly led the archbishop of Sens, who had episcopal authority over La Charité, to complain to Gregory IX. Robert was suspended for about a year, but after his reappointment his activity in Champagne, Burgundy, and the kingdom of France, including an execution of 183 people at Mont-Aimé, eventually led to his suspension from office in 1238. He was then chained and imprisoned by the order “because of his pride, and because he did not wish to rule himself according to the counsel of his betters.”⁷¹

To reiterate: the Order of Preachers did not invent this discipline, but rather adopted a traditional monastic schema: the cultivation of obedient will; observation through self-examination and the accusation of others; bodily chastisement both as fortifying ritual and as penitential punishment. The Dominicans did, however, claim that they exceeded this model in their degree of harshness, and the *Vitae fratrum* indicated that the order’s corporal discipline in its first decades was a significant factor in apostasy.⁷² And as we see, this model brought together individual and community; inner “strictest examination” with public confession and penance; observing oneself and one’s brethren; penitential pain inflicted by oneself and also by others. Raymond of Peñafort’s vista of Christian correction (pastoral, canonical, and inquisitorial) and the order’s own practice help to illuminate an explicitly Dominican context for the friars’ spiritual discipline of the errant. That context arose from previous ecclesiastical and monastic currents: universal community under that “greatest abbot, God”; penance and interiority; observation and correction, if necessary through *inquisitio*; the exalted, salvific jurisdiction of canon law; and the order’s apostolate to “all the faithful of Christ who serve the Lord under the gospel’s rule.” Dominicans were not solely responsible for either pastoral care or heresy inquisitions. But while Roman precedent, canon law, and synodal statutes built the foundations of *inquisitio*’s application to heresy, its thirteenth-century developments in procedure and theory can be chiefly credited to Dominicans, as authors or petitioners of consultations and as

compilers of manuals. And we should recall their special marriage of monastic discipline with a foundational purpose of “saving souls” through ministry in the world. In *Expositio in constitutiones*, Humbert of Romans praised the novelty of his order, which “was instituted not only for the salvation of those entering it, but also generally for the salvation of souls. In this it surpasses other orders, as they were established only for the salvation of those who entered them.”⁷³ Particularly with the Dominicans, the salvation effected by that good discipline of body and soul could be turned outward. As Humbert saw it, all baptized Christians not only would be prayed for, but also be taught themselves to pray. And those touched by the “worse sin” of heresy were especially needful of that salvation, to become wholly again “the faithful of Christ who serve the Lord.”

The Spiritual Discipline of Inquisition

How did heresy inquisitions participate in these broader dynamics of spiritual discipline: body and soul, individual and community, obedience and correction? In the poetic debate between inquisitor Izarn and heretic Sicart, Izarn described the beneficent grief over sin that he sought to cultivate in Sicart through their conversation:

He who repents and weeps over his fault merits mercy; it is the medicine that procures the benefits of the friendship of God for those of good will. . . . The man [who has this regret] is afflicted, sighs over his culpability that he has incurred for not having served God nor accomplished his works. He weeps over the great delay [in doing good], the days, the years, the months when he has not accomplished his struggle and his good actions in the service of God and sees how much he has erred. . . . The devotion that manifests itself by tears, when it is sincere, is very pleasing to God.⁷⁴

This demonstration of “sincere,” tearful contrition over fault was the point toward which an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* ideally moved. This regret was inexorably bound to confession, resulting from that contrition, which served as a boundary between that wasted time of sin and a new beginning of “serving God.”⁷⁵ A sentence in 1236 by Guillaume Arnaud charted an inquisition’s

ideal progression; when the accused had been “moved inside by grief of the heart,” the inquisitors, “seeing his good purpose of doing penance,” impose a penalty, and he “with great devotion promises to fulfill the said penance.”⁷⁶

Sharing with sacramental confession a focus on contrition, inquisition required for heresy’s reparation the internal recognition that an action or belief deemed heretical was not alternative opinion or substituting truth, but instead sinful disobedience and apostasy, precisely because of the hegemony of the Roman church’s universal *ecclesia*. An inquisitorial interrogation was undoubtedly intended to discover facts, contributing details for potential future use (places, dates, acts, accomplices), as well as determining the accused’s precise level and quality of guilt. But a confession of “fact” alone was impotent or even noxious if it meant a bold, unapologetic statement of commitment to heresy. The interrogation had to nurture a confession of sin that demonstrated genuine contrition and would itself be enlivened by the performance of an atoning penance. In this sense, the interrogation replicated the didactic character of “regular” confession, in which the development of inner contrition necessarily involved instruction and possibly debate on sin. Alexander Murray has noted the arduously dialogic nature of sacramental confession, in which the priest’s instructions on the sinful nature of some behaviors could be met with responsive resistance and disagreement.⁷⁷ Confession’s demand for this instruction, review of circumstance, and detailed interrogation, potentially troubled even in “normal” penance, was dramatized and doubled in the inquisitorial interrogation, amid a wide diversity of potential commitment and disagreement over the constitution of “true” Christianity. The interrogation also echoed the fundamental character of the special task of the Order of Preachers, offering an instruction that produced a pastoral outcome: to Humbert of Romans, “one sows by preaching, but the fruit is gathered through confession.”⁷⁸

The interrogation could then serve as a kind of negotiation over sin. The interrogation, we might say, determined sin: in a sense, despite *fama*, interrogation was where the sin of heresy was “created” by gauging whether one was truculent or pliantly contrite when informed about the sinful, heretical status of one’s beliefs or behavior. The inquisitorial interrogation was a site for debating the nature of the bonds linking God to humans in the Christian faith, involving the delivery of information by the inquisitor as well as the extraction of information from the accused. Questions asserted rather than merely searched. In an immediate, individualized manifestation of the problem of

discernment, the transformation of the will and development of contrition ultimately depended upon a kind of cognitive agreement about the constitution of the Christian faith. This included debating the salutary purpose of the interrogation itself, if it was salvific rather than cruel.⁷⁹ When Guillerma Torniera was interrogated by Jean Duprat in 1324,

she responded that on another occasion she had sworn before brother Geoffroy [d'Ablis] and had told the truth, and she would say nothing else nor otherwise swear, then begging the said lord inquisitor that henceforth he would not commit these things or require her to speak or to act for her harm because she would not otherwise swear, as she said. The lord inquisitor responded to Guillerma that he was not committing these things nor was he requiring her to speak or to act for her harm . . . but rather for the salvation of her soul: namely by requiring her to swear to tell the truth especially on the matter or business of the faith, and about those things that she is found to have committed in the crime of heretical pravity, the lord inquisitor intimating to her that when she had confessed about and concerning the same crime, she concealed many things that she had committed.⁸⁰

While silence was an effective tool for heretics' contestation, obstructing and denying the validity of inquisition's attempted spiritual discipline, it also created space for inquisitorial instruction, an offensive in the play of discernment. In his *Practica*, Bernard Gui warned that Beguins would be hesitant to swear an oath and testify truthfully for various reasons; they believed that the abjuration of their beliefs would offend God, as they were not heresy, but simply the life of Christ and the first apostles; inquisitors and clergy rather offended God by pursuing them as heretics. Beguins likewise worried that their truthful confession would injure their neighbors, who were implicated in their heresy. Bernard advised inquisitors fatigued as he was with Beguins' attempt to call "good evil and evil good and [to put] light for the shadows and shadows for the light" to correct firmly their mistaken definitions of their belief and of inquisition itself. It was

to be said and explained to them that, on the contrary, it is not an offense to God, nor is God offended . . . when the truth is inquired about by a judge, so that error and heresy might be uncovered, and

[this] is to depend upon not their false opinion but the judgment of the one inquiring.⁸¹

The information, after all, was required to save the soul of the very person for whom they feared. Just as silence could constitute the accused's refusal to acknowledge inquisition's spiritual legitimacy, persuading the accused to swear—both to speak and possibly to violate a tenet banning this—implied her subjection to the inquisitor's jurisdiction, and thus acquiescence to a structure that offered forgiveness only through the clerics of the Roman church. To confess what would be defined as a sin was not “harm,” but the only possible route to “salvation of the soul.” This was both the typical revision of identities we see in the matter of discernment (who is false; who is true) and also a good example of inquisitors' characterization of their work based upon their Christian spiritual geography: punishment only appears to be “harm” when read most superficially; placed against a background of God's eternal punishment, it is in fact “good.” And discernment meant not just opining on the truth of individual beliefs, but averring the very power of discerning dependably: the inquisitor asserted the Roman church's jurisdiction and power of alone confidently identifying what constituted an offense against God.

Resembling more closely normal penance was the interrogation's instruction on the sinfulness of specific beliefs and actions, in which questions themselves embedded lessons. A vivid instance from practice of inquisition's Christian dialectic, asserting and refining the faith, is the case of Aliseta Boneta, who testified in 1325 during Henri de Chamayo and Pierre Brun's inquisitions in Carcassonne that she was tormented with doubt over her sister Na Prous's reports of personal conversations with Christ and a purity that equaled the Virgin Mary's. To Aliseta, her sister's claims did not seem right, but as God could do anything, perhaps Na Prous was not lying. But “afterwards she thought in her heart . . . that it was an illusion and the work of the devil.”⁸² Yet she wavered again, still scared of the spiritual risks of disbelieving her sister's assertions. Although they were certainly extraordinary, was it not an affront against God to doubt that he would or could do such things?

Explanation [was made] to her by the inquisitors' lieutenant that those things that she heard from her said sister are erroneous, heretical, against the faith and holy Roman church, and the work of the devil.

[She was] required, begged, warned, and encouraged to revoke and abjure all the aforesaid things, and especially the things that were said against ecclesiastical sacraments and against papal power, and to consider her said sister as a heretic and heresiarch, and the said condemned and burned persons to be heretics, and to swear that she believes thus.⁸³

The church alone held the reassuring power to discriminate confidently between what God had and had not done, what was the authentic work of the divine and what was the trap of the devil. In addition, then, to inquisitorial texts' potential (if troubled) value in disclosing lay belief, the trial was also an opportunity for the inquisitor to assert positively his own faith, in his attempt to persuade the heretic that the Roman church, and inquisition, delineated the content and limits of Christianity. Were Alisseta trying to evade inquisitorial punishment, she might have attempted flat-out denials. The struggles she claimed, and their sensible foundation in what she viewed as the logical conclusions of God's omnipotence, help us to see this as a fascinating example of the opportunities for instruction that resistance provided, and the interrogation's place as a contest over the Christian faith.

Interrogations' interest in individual circumstance was related to this instruction and reflected "normal" penance. The relationship between individuation and inquisitorial *formulae* and categories of heresy may seem paradoxical. But as John Arnold has shown, categories of heresy ("receiver," "supporter," etc.) permitted attention to a greater number of Christians, whose souls were deeply investigated in this ambitious process of spiritual discipline, the correction of heresy as individually calibrated sin. (Inquisitorial manuals' *formulae* for interrogations, especially those tailored to specific heresies, resembled penitentials' interrogatories based on the individual's status of life.⁸⁴) In the interrogation, the inquisitor was to be, like his pastoral brethren, a careful "doctor of souls" investigating individual situation and circumstance. As Bernard Gui described the interrogation when introducing the diversity of heretical "sects," the inquisitor, in his attempt to produce a cure, must diagnose in a most detailed way the quality and severity of the illness:

as the same medicine is not used for all diseases—rather there are different and particular medicines for each—so neither for all heretics

of different sects is [there] the same mode of interrogating, inquiring, and examining, but for each . . . an individual and proper manner is to be kept. Therefore the inquisitor, as a prudent doctor of souls, concerning the persons whom or with whom he inquires, considering their quality, condition, state, disease, and place, may carry out his business by inquiring and examining carefully concerning those things, not making or inculcating all the following interrogations to all persons similarly with the same order, nor concerning certain things should he be content with the same or just as many, but thus with the bridle of discretion may he lead around the subtleties of heretics so that, with God's help, with the hand of a midwife the twisting serpent may be led out from the bilge-water and abyss of errors.⁸⁵

This sound policy of tailoring interrogations to the individual had an ancillary benefit; if there were a single interrogation, heretics would soon learn to foil it. But the penitential value of this thorough investigation and interrogation was to diagnose the individual's particular illness. The sin of heresy must be "vomited out," another metaphor shared by both inquisition and sacramental confession.⁸⁶ Note that the inquisitor Bernard described the interrogation by explicitly quoting Raymond of Peñafort's description in the *Summa de paenitentia* of the confessor's conversation with the penitent. Dominican inquisitors, like their brethren, were "doctors of souls." We see then the diversity and unity of diligent "investigations" into Christian souls. Inquisition's was undoubtedly coercive in commanding the accused's presence, but it did not pursue the flatness of words themselves, seeking *contritio*—more simply, agreement about wrongdoing that implicitly confirmed the Roman church's truth—by instructing and searching within. The inquisitorial interrogation reflected previous and contemporary penitential thinking and practice, focused on the individual circumstances of sin and interiorized sorrow, here resting ultimately on the penitent's concurrence that the Roman church was authoritative determinant of how, exactly, one "served God."

Vexatio dabit intellectum

That concurrence sometimes came with difficulty. As inquisitor Izarn warned heretic Sicart in their poetic "debate,"

I well want to convert you, but I have found you so hard, so full of iniquity, that it does not seem probable to me that I will ever find you reasonable. If the witnesses that I have opposed to you do not suffice to lead you to conversion, to make you confess your error . . .⁸⁷

Confidence like Izarn's in a suspect's error, and the presumed functionality of sincere contrition and confession in atoning for sin, underlay inquisition's "vexation" of the body in order to induce them. According to Edward Peters, the role of *fama*—the report of individual or collective wrongdoing and non-conformity that began an *inquisitio* and infused it with a presumption of guilt—and the prioritization of confession in the inquisitorial method particularly led to inquisitorial torture.⁸⁸ When the accused resisted lessons delivered in an interrogation, we see a different manifestation of the body-soul economy girding this Christian spiritual discipline. If heresy inquisitors confronted a refusal to confess contritely, a refusal to recognize, pain directed the will and the conscience to understand properly. As Innocent III wrote when proclaiming the Albigensian Crusade in 1208, quoting Isaiah 28:19, sometimes only "vexation" brought "understanding." Inquisitors' recourse to that vexation rested on a premise pithily expressed by Fourth Lateran: "the soul is much more precious than the body."⁸⁹

Prison was one instrument for that "vexation." As the *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* (c.1280) advised, "if he should conceal or deny [the truth], he is placed in prison and detained until he has confessed."⁹⁰ In this "hortatory" imprisonment, the condition of the accused and weight of crime and suspicion were to be considered. Those who were only lightly suspected could be released until better information was forthcoming, or could even be ordered to spend a few hours each day at the *domus inquisitionis*. But Bernard Gui advised that

when someone is vehemently suspected and was truly guilty from credible conjectures, and the mind of the inquisitor was reasonably informed about this, and such a person is obstinate in confessing and persists in his denials—as many times I saw many people of this kind to be—he is not to be relaxed in any way, but to be detained for many years so that vexation may bring about understanding. Often I saw that certain people, thus vexed and detained for many years, had confessed at last, not only about recent matters but also about old and former ones.⁹¹

When Aliseta Boneta refused to agree that her sister Na Prous was a heretic, she was put into prison to reflect further on the matter. "But at last, after she had persisted in said prison for a long time . . . she said freely and willingly, without threats and demands, that she was penitent about the aforesaid things."⁹² We likely find the juxtaposition of Aliseta's long imprisonment and inquisitors' claim that she came to her penitence "freely and willingly, without threats or demands" ironic and unpersuasive. But the inquisitor's causal connection between vexation and understanding demonstrates not just the simple belief that one does anything to stop bodily suffering, but also the perceived need for full and sincere confession to eradicate the guilt of which the inquisitor was confident, and the deeper bond between suffering and that sincerity. As in Bernard Gui's repetition of the biblical *vexatio dabit intellectum*, bodily distress was believed to affect consciousness, to "bring understanding:" to impress or bring to fruition the interrogation's process of instruction by shattering presumed obstructions to inner acknowledgment and agreement.⁹³ The heretic learned through suffering to develop contrition, rendering prison ideally disciplinary at a lower level by shaping the will to recognize the Roman church's spiritual jurisdiction, and one's beliefs and acts as sins demanding confession. Like Reginald of Orléans brutally beating the "demon" of stubbornness out of impenitent friars, *vexatio* was believed to unlock gates that only sin had built: the pride and truculent disobedience that alone could explain a pertinacious refusal to accept the authoritative wisdom of Peter's clergy.

We also see this causality of vexation and understanding, and the operative twin faiths in guilt and salvific confession, in inquisitorial torture. Innocent IV's *Ad extirpanda* officially permitted torture in inquisitions in 1252, and Alexander IV's *Ut negotium* (1256), addressed to Dominican inquisitors in Toulouse, is commonly interpreted as de facto permission for inquisitors to engage in it. Yet despite a clear trail in canon law, the actual application of torture is almost invisible in Dominican inquisitorial sources.⁹⁴ Torture was rarely addressed explicitly in manuals and is similarly almost imperceptible in practice, where it usually appears indirectly or in hearsay.⁹⁵ However, inquisitors had papal permission to inflict torture, even after Clement V placed restrictions on its use in 1312 in the wake of the anti-inquisitorial protests in southern France. There is then little reason to conclude that inquisitors intentionally neglected to record or to discuss it—especially if we presume they did so from a guilty awareness that it unjustly manufactured a feigned "truth"—and some scholars have indeed argued for its rarity in practice.⁹⁶ Torture was

used, of course, in secular courts. Yet regardless of its frequency, and its origins in secular law, inquisitors patently located torture within their Christian spiritual geography of inquisition. Given the certainties of *fama*, torture was intended to elicit the truth that both the inquisitor and the heretic already knew; the heretic's silence was thus almost unavoidably the result of stubbornness, antipathy, or misguided fear. Torture's purpose was the heretic's acknowledgment, rather than the creation, of truth; torture "produced" truth in the literal sense of drawing it out from the stubborn heretic, his body a tool to defeat the stubborn will, as here again vexation led to understanding.⁹⁷

Ad extirpanda had mandated that the suspect confess about others. But the end of such confession after torture was not only the discovery of other heretics, but also the individual's cleansing confession, the possibility of conversion and reparation through a penitential sentence. Discussing impenitent heretics in a passage heavily borrowed from the anonymous manual *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis* (c.1280), Bernard Gui linked *Ad extirpanda*'s analogy of secular "thieves and robbers" who were tortured, and the benefits of information, with the radiant spiritual value of torture for the person "pertinaciously persisting in perfidy" and those "deceived" by him or her. After recounting the desirability of attempting repeatedly to persuade heretics to return to the faith, imprisoning them as an opportunity for persuasion, and postponing final sentence for this reason, Bernard noted that heretics could also be tortured, quoting the key passage from *Ad extirpanda* but adding to his source text the explicit phrase *per questionum tormenta*. "At last," Bernard concluded, again following *De auctoritate* but intensifying its phrasing, "when pertinaciously and obstinately they persevere in their perfidy," they were to be handed over to the secular arm for burning.⁹⁸ While emphatically not reparative, the violence of torture played its own role in inquisition's spiritual discipline. It was a drastic, final way to push the soul, via the body's *vexatio*, toward the penitential reparation that obviated far worse pain, both of burning and of hell. As Humbert of Romans wrote in his *exempla* collection, *On the Gift of Fear* (1263–1277), God's anger against the damned was such that "he hands them over to be tortured at the hands of the worst enemies they have, that is, demons." After all, Matthew 18:34 said that "And in anger his lord handed him over to torturers." Humbert cited St. Anthony's account of his demonic torments in the desert to stress that "all human tortures" were surpassed by their "cruel blows." But if demons torment humans so horribly on earth, Humbert asked, "how will they torture in the other life in order to punish?"⁹⁹ And what

was inquisitorial torture compared to this? Prison and torture were undergirded by the Roman church's reminders—a traditional core of penitential literature as well as of monastic discipline—of the brevity of earthly life and the surety of divine judgment.¹⁰⁰ Torture's secular analogues and heritage did not prevent its infusion, among inquisitors, by this meaning.

Significantly, both interrogation and confession, and especially the corporal *vexatio* designed to induce that contrite confession, emphasized the suspect's Christian humility when confronted by a spiritual superior.¹⁰¹ As the lawyer Zanchino Ugolini wrote in his *Tractatus super materia hereticorum* (c.1330), inquisitor and heretic were in the disciplinary relationship of father and "wayward son," master and disciple, shepherd and sheep, and this was the foundation of all implementations of *vexatio dabit intellectum*. Contrition was in part the recognition of inferiority and subjection to one's spiritual better, to whom one owed obedience and who had at heart one's own good. This imbalanced but caring relationship sometimes employed pain in its guidance: "by fearing that which he does not want to suffer, the unwilling person abandons animosity and is compelled to acknowledge his ignorance and the truth of the faith, and in fear he rejects the false thing about which he contended, and the true thing follows that at first he did not know."¹⁰² As heretics either knew better in the first place, or had been benevolently instructed through an interrogation, prison or torture led them to voice a truth (that a belief was sinful, that an inquisitor was right) buried within. Fear of pain, and pain itself, broke the lock of confidence, granted the humbly obedient an awareness of greater wisdom and greater authority. In the conviction that vexation brought the understanding that would lead to contrite confession, we see an extension of monasticism's shaping of the will, the cultivation of obedience and humility, through the chastening of the body. Again we might recall Reginald, flogging a stubborn friar until onlookers wept, having first prayed to Christ for the coaxing, humbling efficacy of this pain.

Key here was the inner location of where interrogation needed to work, the link between cognitive agreement and humble submission. At the conclusion of the poetic debate between Izarn and Sicart, the latter declared himself persuaded by the lessons taught by the inquisitor, who was teacher, preacher, and priest:

On the subject of the nine questions that you pose to me and that you preach to me ceaselessly, I have decided in favor: that is to believe them

all, and more still if you demonstrate other things to me, because of the good witnesses that you cite to me and the guarantees that you offer me. It is by your words that I want to be baptized and to be led back to the faith that you and Friar Ferrier preach, you to whom is given the power of binding and loosing, whatever may be the sin, if it concerns heretics. . . . And if someone asks you about me, “Who is this converted one?” you can answer—because this will be the truth—that it is Sicart de Figueiras, who has totally changed his condition.¹⁰³

This is a rich sketch of what inquisitors sought from their encounter with individuals touched diversely by heresy: an instructive yet conquering interrogation that led to the obstinate person’s “totally chang[ing] his condition.” It sought the cultivation of genuine affirmation of the desire to belong rightly, or as inquisitors said, alluding to 1 Timothy 1:5, the sincere wish to rejoin ecclesiastical unity “with a good heart and unfeigned faith.”¹⁰⁴ Despite Sicart’s reassurances of “truth,” we likely doubt the authenticity of his supposed transformation. And inquisitors surely, and justifiably, shared our doubts about many who claimed themselves genuinely penitent. But as Raymond of Peñafort warned in his pastoral manual, “false penitence” damns the still guilty, forbidding heaven.¹⁰⁵ Inquisitors, fallible humans, had “the power of binding and loosing,” but they might never know with certainty. The *satisfactio* of punishment was hoped to be a hint, as atonement moved from inner soul to external body.

Pena seu penitentia

For inquisitorial “doctors of souls,” like their pastoral colleagues, the diagnosis by interrogation had to be followed by the application of a proper cure through the individualized remedy of penitential punishment. Penance was necessary to correct and repair the relationship the heretic had ruptured through sin, but was valid as satisfaction only with that “good heart.” Because it was reparative, it had to be doable; as Izarn told Sicart, Dominican inquisitors “have decided . . . that [upon] every person who would like to confess, return to the faith, and be reconciled . . . they will impose a penance easy to support.”¹⁰⁶ The imposition of penances at an inquisition’s concluding *sermo generalis* was significantly prefaced by absolution from the excommunication

incurred by heretics *ipso facto*, enabling and publicly marking the return to “ecclesiastical unity” and, more substantively, to the salvific power of its sacraments. Bernard Gui’s formula for absolution from excommunication began with the penitential psalm *Miserere mei*, followed by the *Pater noster*, *Kyrie eleison*, and the versicle *Salvos fac servos tuos*. A prayer was then offered: “Grant, we ask, Lord, to these your servants the worthy fruit of penitence, so that to your holy church, from whose wholeness they have deviated by sinning, they might return innocent by obtaining pardon for their trespasses.” The inquisitor then absolved the heretic from the excommunication he had incurred “because of those things that you confessed in trial that you had committed in the damned crime of heresy.”¹⁰⁷

Satisfaction took place through a number of punishments deployed by inquisitors, which demanded from the penitent varying amounts of time, difficulty, and pain. Just as the interrogation was to be designed for the kind of fault, following the model of the confessor’s conversation, inquisitors were to attend sensitively to the individual case, weighing proper circumstances of person and situation in the guilty party that could attenuate guilt, such as familial bonds or momentary lapses, or that could affect choice of penance, such as age or health. Like confessors, inquisitors were urged to fashion the most suitable outfit of penances for the individual sinner, tailored to the particular situation and with sensitivity to the penalty’s gravity and the consequent likelihood of successful completion.¹⁰⁸ As the consultation of Béziers advised its Dominican correspondents in 1246, in an instruction later copied into an anonymous manual (c.1265),

We touch upon these things concerning arbitrary penances not so that you impose them all or equally upon all, but so that thus cautiously and prudently you might dispense them according to the discretion handed to you by the Lord, having weighed the utility of the business, the quality of persons, the quantity of faults, and other circumstances, so that either by punishing or by forgiving the life of the guilty may be corrected, or at least it can be evident who walks in shadows, who in light; who may be truly penitent, who feignedly converted.¹⁰⁹

These penances were “arbitrary” in that the precise kind and number were left to the inquisitors’ discretion, woven into a web of reparation tailored to the individual situation. Their imposition at the “successful” end of an *inquisitio*

hereticae pravitatis self-consciously expressed concern over contrition and confession's possible failure. Amid worries over the sincerity of "good hearts" and "unfeigned faith," faithful completion of a penance could illuminate sincere contrition, just as disdainful neglect would disclose the "feignedly converted" still "walking in shadows." By shifting the true conclusion of the *inquisitio* to the body, sealing and proving its salvific success, penances also extended inquisition's temporal reach and asserted its power to "bind and loose." And as the ideally thoughtful selection and combination of penances reflected the demand in "regular" penance that satisfaction suit individual circumstance, the punishments imposed by inquisitors were not unique: they replicated monastic practice, penances used to atone for other sins, and canonical punishments, such as those described by Raymond of Peñafort. Scholars such as James Given, Andrew Roach, and Annette Pales-Gobilliard have discussed at length these various punishments. Here, we will focus specifically on their contribution to the "monasticization" of the Christian laity, as inquisition's punishments contributed to shaping the returned heretic into a distinct kind of penitent *laicus religiosus*, in most serious cases indeed adopting penance as a "way of life."¹¹⁰

Dominic's imposition of crosses on Pons Roger in 1208 seems to be the first instance of this penalty for heresy, and after the Albigensian Crusade the Council of Toulouse in 1229 mandated it for returning heretics "in detestation of their former error." The council's instruction was later included in the anonymous manual (c.1265) that copied the consultation of Béziers, but it had by then long been in use, as is clear from *Processus inquisitionis* (c.1248), which recorded the practice of Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre in Carcassonne. Crosses were commonly imposed throughout the first century of Dominican commissions, and Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis* (c.1323) also included sympathetic symbols for other categories of the errant: red tongues for false accusers, water pitchers for "rebaptizers," round hosts for abusers of the eucharist.¹¹¹ The penance of wearing various symbols representative of the fault has most powerfully suggested to historians a didactic function and a related attempt at social exclusion. Inquisitors regularly took care in sentences to ensure the symbols' constant visibility, as in the prescription of a specific size, the interdiction of yellow clothing under yellow crosses, and the reminder always to wear symbols on external garments and to repair or replace them when ripped or aged. For example, the anonymous *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* (c.1280) included an earlier sentence by

inquisitors Guillaume Bernard de Dax and Jean de St Benoit (c.1270) by which crosses were to be worn “on all his clothes except his chemise . . . [if they are not] prominent he should not be within the house or outside of it . . . and he should repair them if they are torn.” Moreover, those sentenced to wear symbols could be required to stand for a length of time in a public place, such as on the church steps at Sunday mass or a feast day, or in the lord’s courtyard on market day.¹¹² As Raymond of Peñafort’s inquisitors’ manual put it, the permanent visibility of crosses was “so that they can be seen to be solemnly penitent.”¹¹³

Yet this very visibility also performed a service to the guilty, as the shame resulting from that visibility was itself penitential. As Peter the Chanter had written in the twelfth century, the embarrassed blushing produced in a thorough confession itself contributed to satisfaction. Similarly, crosses’ visibility did not just have an effluent, didactic force for spectators; its value also lay in its ability to augment the penance by the wearer’s painful humiliation.¹¹⁴ According to Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis*, the symbol was to be worn “so that it may be to him as a veil and confusion for the eyes and as an example [*exemplum*] to others,” neatly juxtaposing the penitential and the instructive character of this sentence. Interestingly, crosses could be ordered to be worn during a prison sentence, attenuating the potential force of their community visibility and demonstrating their perceived utility in themselves as a tool of penance.¹¹⁵

Moreover, we should attend particularly to another meaning: their creation of a category of the *laicus religiosus*. Dominic had ordered Pons Roger to adopt “religious clothing” in addition to crosses. Although this was not a penance subsequently imposed by heresy inquisitors, the wearing of crosses, like the distinct habits worn by all monastic orders, identified the former heretic as someone who lived a peculiar kind of religious life. Any analysis of this visibility and demarcation must be placed within a broader medieval context of “setting apart” religious categories in dress. Roach has observed the similarity of these crosses with those of crusaders. Other religiously liminal categories, persons both in the “world” and outside it, were likewise distinguished by appearance. Like laypeople who had embraced penance as a “way of life,” the laywoman remaining in the world who assumed distinct clothing to designate a vow of obedience to a confessor, or the *conversus* attached to a religious order, the penitent heretic marked with symbols publicly stated a peculiar, intermediate religious status in the Roman church. (In the Dominican

Constitutions, we see the reverse: the friar guilty of “gravest fault” of “incorrigibility” who “refuses to bear punishment” must abandon the habit and resume “secular clothing.”¹¹⁶ In this sense, the symbols’ visibility marked a transformation from one religious status to another within the universal ecclesiastical community (compare Moneta of Cremona’s defenses of different forms of life within the single church), rather than an ejection from a social community. It was a sign to God, even if to no one else, of penance as a way of life for those guilty of the serious sin of heresy, which may help to explain why symbols might be worn in prison.

Unsurprisingly—considering its monastic and canonical precedents, Dominic’s imposition of it upon a former heretic in 1208 in his capacity as priest, and its consequent adoption by the Order of Preachers—Dominican inquisitors commonly prescribed corporal punishment for persons judged guilty of heresy. This “penance” appeared in 1242 in Raymond of Peñafort’s inquisitorial manual, from which it was excerpted circa 1280 in the manual *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos*. The Council of Narbonne in 1243, led by Bishop Pierre Amiel, similarly recommended to Dominican inquisitors, who had requested counsel, sentences of formal beating at masses and processions. This advice, together with the similar recommendation made by the Council of Béziers (1246) and a sentence of discipline at processions imposed by Friar Ferrier and Pierre Durand in 1244, later appeared in the anonymous inquisitors’ manual compiled circa 1265.¹¹⁷ Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis* (c.1323) provided inquisitors with more detail about the execution of this penance, including a model for a public liturgy that began with the penitential psalm *Miserere mei*, said while confessed heretics were “wounded” or “disciplined” with rods. After the *Kyrie* and the *Pater noster*, a versicle and response, a prayer was offered in which God was asked (as in absolution from excommunication) to “grant to your servants the worthy fruit of penitence so that by obtaining pardon for the deeds committed, they might be returned blameless to your church, from whose wholeness they have deviated by sinning.” A (literally) striking manifestation of flogging’s prosaic character among inquisitors is the Beguin Guilhem Serallier’s testimony in 1326 in Montpellier that he previously confessed at Lodève to another inquisitor, who “in absolving him, wounded him with a staff, saying something for the purpose of absolution . . . nevertheless, he enjoined no penance on him.” If accurate, this was hardly proper procedure, but it nevertheless likely demonstrates an inquisitor’s faith in the penitential value of pain.¹¹⁸

Significantly, this flogging was not a single event, as we see in sentences that commanded a heretic interminably to attend Sunday mass at a parish church, where “between the epistle and the gospel, with rods in hand, [he would] publicly present himself and receive discipline,” or to be beaten whenever local processions took place. Corporal discipline then could continue long after the formal trial had concluded, acting as extended reconciliation of the heretic with God and sign of his submission to the Roman church’s power to bind and loose. Notably, we glimpse here one avenue of participation for secular clergy unattached to heresy inquisitions, as the local parish priest was to impose this bodily discipline at liturgies and processions. He, as representative of the church instituted by Christ to ease salvation through the sacraments (including penance), retroactively asserted inquisition as penitential while reminding the penitent of the universal community of *ecclesia* far beyond inquisition. The penitent was encased within a disciplinary schema of longer-term observance by his local priest, his spiritual superior, whose flogging ensured regular penance and, perhaps, provisions against future relapse. Like crosses, public flogging had the obvious didactic power of displaying ecclesiastical authority. But in the extension of this penance to laypeople, we should consider its monastic origin as ritualized chastening agent and punishment for committed sins, where it also had its own kind of didactic force. Most simply, inquisition’s corporal punishment transmitted to laypeople found guilty of heresy monasticism’s deployment of pain to make reparation for sin. Dominic, lauded in the order for his fierce self-discipline, imposed flogging upon Pons Roger in his capacity as priest long before there were Dominican inquisitors. Humbert of Romans’s observation that the “religious” had long used flogging for penance and humility was applied to these putative sinners as well. (Remember that Raymond’s *Summa de paenitentia* listed flogging as a penance for sin and as a canonical punishment.) When an inquisitor like Bernard Gui recommended *Miserere mei* as companion to this penance, it would have been familiar to him as one of the psalms used in the Order of Preachers’ nightly compline floggings. Both Pons and penitent heretics after him participated in the kind of chastening and punitive flogging we witness in the Dominican order, as they became lay *religiosi* publicly beaten by a superior in sight of their community.

Prison, the most common penalty imposed by inquisitors, was another inquisitorial extension of a monastic punishment to persons proclaimed guilty of the “worse sin” of heresy.¹¹⁹ It was a means for serious offenders to

perform perpetually “salutary penance there for those deeds committed,” having the ancillary benefit, as Raymond of Peñafort noted, that “there they may save their souls, and not corrupt others.”¹²⁰ Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre’s manual specified that the guilty person was to enter a “tolerable and humane” prison “to do penance for the aforesaid things, with which you have wretchedly offended God and the church.” The records of their sentences from 1244 to 1248 show that they consistently described imprisonment as means to do penance, and they remarked sadly that those who had been sentenced to prison “to do penance for heresy” but had escaped had done so “to the perdition of their souls.” By the time of Bernard Gui, prison was still explicitly described as “salutary penance” in manuals and sentences.¹²¹ Prison was not yet a criminal penalty in western Europe, and inquisitors did not look to secular punishment in imprisoning penitent heretics.¹²² We have already sketched the construction of prisons in the Dominican order as a means to punish “apostate” and “irregular” friars, which continued a venerable monastic model. Contemporaries were well aware that both inquisitorial punishment and that within a religious order could involve prison, and the former could even be preferable. As Raimon de Johan of Montréal testified in 1325, his uncle Raimon, an apostate Franciscan, “wished rather to be in the hands of the inquisitors than in the hands of his brothers.”¹²³ The penitential incarceration in their own religious community of monks or nuns found guilty of heresy was, in effect, inquisitors’ imposition upon members of other orders the canonical penalties of an *inquisitio*. In 1246 Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre sentenced the nun Joanna to strict enclosure within the confines of her convent at Lespinasse; she was to remain in a separate small room with no contact with others, and her care was committed to her prioress.¹²⁴ Near the end of our period in 1328, a sentence by Henri de Chamayo and his colleague Pierre Brun ordered the Carmelite Pierre Recort to be degraded and imprisoned in his convent in Toulouse with chains and a diet of bread and water. A council led by Henri in Béziers a year later sentenced the Franciscan *conversus* Peire Raimon Gontard to “perpetual imprisonment in a certain convent of his order.”¹²⁵ Pierre Recort’s sentence of *murus strictus* dramatically illustrated inquisitors’ sense of the reparative utility of prison for all believed seriously guilty of the sin of heresy, both in orders or in the world: “may you have bread for the food of grief and water for the drink of tribulation, and may you receive [them] patiently, so that to live in that place may taste to you of death, and the death that you suffer there may grant you eternal life.”¹²⁶ The “exile”

described by Raymond of Peñafort, a punishment traditional in monastic practice to correct the errant and disobedient, was turned outward through inquisition to those disobedient to God through heresy.

Lesser *penitentia arbitraria* likewise reflected contemporary ecclesiastical punishments and monastic discipline. Pecuniary penances, discussed by Raymond as a canonical punishment, were sympathetically reparative, as in Guillaume of Valence and Pons Gary's sentence (c.1243) that one B. Sarssa spend for pious uses the same amount he reckoned that he had donated to local Waldenses. "Reversing" the earlier financial support by redirecting funds to the Roman church's ends, this was related to the usual penance of almsgiving. But both pecuniary penances and the confiscation of property, handed to secular authority, also translated to heretics a monastic conception of imposed poverty as a spiritual good.¹²⁷ Significantly, the penances of pilgrimage and attendance at liturgies, like flogging, offered means for the involvement of secular clergy as disciplining spiritual superior and observer. Raymond of Peñafort identified pilgrimage in his pastoral manual as a kind of bodily chastisement, and Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis* recalled its general use in penance; extended pilgrimages to Rome were valuable "because of the many and great indulgences that have been granted there by the Roman popes to visitors and pilgrims."¹²⁸ Clerics at the pilgrimage sites were asked to testify in writing that the penance had been faithfully completed, not just advertising the penitent's status, but also communicating to the penitent the breadth of the Roman church's reach.¹²⁹ As we saw above, attendance at liturgies and sermons, and mandates of regular confession and prayer, had precedents in Dominic's reconciliation of Pons Roger. This penance openly plunged the heretic back into the sacramental community of the Roman church, putatively demonstrating agreement with its power as conduit between God and human. Practically, it provided the instruction of sermons and the presumed salvific benefits of the mass. And in a more enduring way, it placed the penitent under that lasting supervisory authority of a spiritual superior.¹³⁰ In both mild and serious punishments, then, we see the complexities of *poena seu paenitentia*. What may seem to be sheer pain, visibility, isolation, and seized riches (and could indeed appear as such to bystanders at the time) may be read as inquisition's applications of what underlay other Christian reconciliations and transformations. Crosses were the atoning shame of the blushing person confessing to a priest, the self-consciousness of the friar charged with sin by his brethren, the clothing adopted by a layperson adopting a life of penance in the world; flogging

was the monk beaten to shape the will or to be punished; isolation was the friar thrown in prison to taste death; confiscation was the poverty that hardened coddled, luxurious bodies and souls. We see also in inquisitorial practice the balance between the internal forum of penance and the external forum of a church court, with its own claims to “save souls.” Both arenas attended to Christians’ proper reconciliation within Christianity’s transcendent monastery.

The Greatest Abbot of All

It is not then wholly satisfactory to argue that inquisitors intended chiefly to protect the social body from danger by isolating heretics, or to increase earthly power by creating and publicly identifying categories of transgression. It is tempting to identify arbitrary penances as didactic theater, their public imposition and performance an external spectacle of social control that adumbrates or denies their primary character as reparative penance restoring the individual sinner to good standing in the divine-earthly Christian community. Crosses were indeed an *exemplum* for others, and prison kept heresy from spreading. Yet if we place this spiritual discipline within the transcendent *ecclesia* imagined by Roman clerics both in and beyond inquisition, we perceive different meanings of community, correction, and individual soul. Inquisitorial practice ultimately rested on a premise of God’s inescapable supervision and punishment, an expansion of boundaries that created inquisition’s own peculiar power.

Inquisitors surely intended punishments to have an instructive value by identifying heretics, reminding communities of ecclesiastical authority, and attempting to dissuade others from incurring similar shame and trouble. However, inquisitors’ commutation of imposed penances could teach a lesson of divine power as ponderous as their imposition. There is much evidence in manuals and transcripts that neighbors disrupted the guilty’s reconciliation by mocking or ostracizing those undergoing protracted punishments, consequently leading penitents to abandon their punishments. The potential didactic value of penances was, consequently, sometimes sacrificed to the fear that an individual’s reparation would remain incomplete because of shame or harassment. Significantly, inquisitors formally warned and punished such harassers as persons impeding the office of inquisition, a category that also included those testifying falsely about another’s guilt.¹³¹ In addition, inquisitors were willing to commute or to alter penances that were onerous or

damaging to one's livelihood and community standing. For example, it is clear that requests were often made, and granted, to abandon the shameful punishment of crosses. This flexibility reflected a concern in penitential discourse, expressed in Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de poenitentia* and in Robert of Flamborough's warning in his *Liber poenitentialis* (1208–1213) against “incautious” penances that disrupted or obstructed the productive run of life, such as keeping a worker from providing for his family.¹³² We see this exactly in Gui's *Practica*, which recorded a formula for commuting the penance of a cross-wearer unable to marry off his children, and another for a man temporarily released from prison because his wife and children were driven to beggary without his support. He was to wear until his return an image of a hammer, “as a sign and testimony that he still belongs to prison.” Pilgrimage could be suspended for age, illness, or hardship, if “signs of contrition and penance” were visible.¹³³ In the case of clergy members, penance could be imposed privately rather than at a public *sermo generalis*, a tactic admittedly intended to “avoid defamation,” but nevertheless indicative that spectacular didacticism was not inquisitors' most compelling interest.¹³⁴

These various measures indicate, again, sensitivity to individual circumstance. Moreover, they suggest that inquisitors preferred a less flamboyant, yet fulfilled, penance to one abandoned because of its very publicity. And their readiness to modify and to commute punishments that hurt community engagement, and to threaten and punish harassers, ostracizers, and false witnesses, argues cogently that inquisition's primary goal was not the creation of an “outsider” community. These tactics prove a greater interest in the heretic as new-model prodigal son whose penance marked his return from excommunication, in the reminder that even excommunication had not ejected one from the universal *ecclesia*, than in the demarcation of the socially rejected. Inquisitors did not seek exclusion, the identification of an ostracized “other,” the creation of a permanent class on the margins, or the restoration of “purity” through excision or isolation of corrupt elements. Instead, they aimed at a complete, transcendental inclusion of the bodies and souls of all baptized Christians. In fact, inquisitors not only argued for a vast breadth of heretical “sin” that demanded atonement, they also enveloped those laypeople who *did* try to socially exclude the punished within the wide circle of malefactors who demanded correction.¹³⁵ A penance fulfilled quietly had less spectacular power, but more force in ostensibly effecting the individual's membership in the universal *ecclesia*, thereby asserting the borderless and timeless Christian community in which

there was no outside and no margin, no means not to suffer punishment for unrepentant sin. And it was through this inevitability of inclusion that the Roman church claimed to exercise far greater power than any merely earthly authority, and to possess far greater jurisdiction over a body that was not coterminous with terrestrial society.¹³⁶ Exclusion is not the only tool of power, prison not the only thing to fear. By insisting through various media that inescapability of God's governance, Dominican inquisitors and colleagues threatened consequences more terrifying than mere isolation or even permanent imprisonment, finite in time and in pain. For the broad spectrum of the sin of heresy, inquisition proposed humble obedience and submission to the divine-earthly community of the church, governed by the "greatest abbot of all."

Returning to our initial questions of the differences between persuasion and coercion, apostolate and inquisitions, Dominic and Dominican inquisitors, we must emphasize that inquisition's reconciliation of the presumably guilty was not identical to sacramental confession. The latter, for example, expressly forbade information about others, which inquisitorial confession encouraged. By the time of Bernard Gui, the language of inquisitorial confession and penance bore a sharpened judicial tone. The case of Peire de Tornamira, who died in 1325 on a sickbed while being interrogated by Menet de Robécourt, a cleric acting as notary and inquisitorial lieutenant in Carcassonne, illustrates a stark change in language and perspective. Menet tempted the ill Peire with a promise that after his "complete judicial confession, if he wished, he might confess his sins sacramentally, and receive the body of our lord Jesus Christ." Two local Dominican friars were summoned to hear Peire's confession, and the council that later met to determine whether Peire, who died during this interrogation, did so as a heretic or a Catholic, puzzled over the quality of Peire's statements and their hints at contrition.¹³⁷ However, even in this clear distinction between judicial confession to an inquisitorial representative and sacramental confession to two friars, we glimpse the "moral density" of this ecclesiastical process: Peire's judicial confession would enable his absolution from excommunication, which allowed the sacrament. Yet by 1376—when, as Antoine Dondaine argues, inquisition had experienced profound shifts in orientation—Nicholas Eymeric entirely segregated cleansing confession from the inquisitorial process, arguing that inquisitors must refuse to hear suspects' sacramental confession in the penitential forum, as this would constitute a scandal against the sacrament as well as allowing the guilty to evade proper punishment.¹³⁸

But in that sincerely persecuting Christianity of the first century of Dominican inquisitorial commissions, *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* was another way to “save souls,” an experiment of individual spiritual discipline and universal ecclesiology. Inquisition’s penitential impulses and resemblances were not accidental or belied in substance by a “policing” function; in the thirteenth century particularly, ecclesiastical court, law, and punishment bore their own salvific power. Throughout that first century of Dominican appointments, inquisition was a kind of “penitential forum.” The use of the body, together with other dynamics of spiritual discipline, transformed the guilty heretic into a penitent in the world, one kind of “lay religious.” But inquisition’s demands upon the bodies and souls of sinning Christians indeed appear to change by the mid-fourteenth century: coincidentally, the moment when Vauchez argued that the hybrid *laicus religiosus* was no more.¹³⁹ Consequently, while Dominic was not an inquisitor, and Dominican inquisitors were not gentle pastors, their respective activities alike arose from contemporary ecclesiastical ideologies of spiritual discipline and transcendent, universal *ecclesia*. We witness both in Dominic’s reconciliation of Pons Roger and in the practice of his order’s inquisitors strategies that arose from several other ecclesiastical currents, a transformation of those found guilty of serious heresy into a new kind of *religiosi*. While those examined and punished by inquisitors obviously differed from those “lay religious” who chose to live in the world with distinctive dress, to flagellate themselves, to adopt penance as a way of life, we might nevertheless view inquisition’s ambitions against the contemporary backdrop that gave all Christians new obligations in an economy of salvation. Most significant, then, are not inquisition’s superficial commonalities with the pastorate, but the articulated view of divine community and belonging that gave an awesome force to all “diligent inquiries” into the soul.

Inquisition’s spiritual discipline was premised upon the ecclesiology of all Christians already “in” this universal monastery, which radically redefined both “persuasion” and “coercion.” God himself was coercive.¹⁴⁰ And while inquisitors significantly expanded their attention to a wide variety of putative commitments to heresy or to acts and beliefs “falsely” understood as Christian piety, churchmen themselves were not exempt from the delineations of sin to which heresy inquisitions forcefully contributed. In these ambitious articulations of Christian community and belonging, the darkness of sin affected everyone. In understanding the quality and scope of the Roman church’s asserted power—past the body and into the soul; binding and loosing in heaven

as on earth—we should remember that inquisitors themselves, like all Christians, were subject to its exhaustive schema of punishment.¹⁴¹ For just as that universal community had no walls, human vision was nothing to divine. In his *vita* of the holy man Martin of Carcassonne, Bernard Gui noted that although humans may have estimated Martin as lowly and simple, God's surpassing vision saw rightly: "For although on the outside he was unpolished to human eyes, on the inside he was ornamented in the eyes of God, which are brighter than the sun."¹⁴² This was why inquisitorial prisons did not need modern technologies of visibility, and penance did not need to embody an active moral education. Inquisition's penances might exercise the soul to guard against future sins, but primarily made reparation to God for ones already committed. While, then, penance had an eye on the future, as moral education would, it more importantly looked backward, as atoning punctuation mark on the contrition ideally developed inside. And it was this "inside" that made human technologies of visibility insufficient and unnecessary; to inquisitors, a penitent's *cors bona et fides non ficta* could only be known by the omniscient God whose creation was panoptic. His sight rested above human investigation, constantly observing all earthly action, beyond flesh and into soul. The Benedictine Rule's chapter on humility reminded its monks that "a person should consider himself to be watched always from heaven by God at all times, and his actions in every place to be seen by the divine sight, and at all times to be reported by the angels."¹⁴³ Dominican inquisitors argued for, and sought to be the earthly channel of, that vigilant scope into souls touched by heresy. An *exemplum* collected by inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon tried to convey this to sermon audiences, to illustrate the principle that humans should fear future judgment of sin because of God's "infallible knowledge." Étienne recounted a tale of a barber who stole a pig from his rich neighbor in order to feed clerics at the feast of St. Nicholas, not believing it was a sin. God came to him disguised as a man and asked for a shave. When the barber wet his neck, he discovered with horror that it was full of eyes. God then said to him, "I am he who sees before, and behind, and everywhere."¹⁴⁴ In the ambitious establishment of spiritual discipline embarked upon by the Roman church in the high Middle Ages—of which inquisition was one part—not only the monk, but also the lowliest pig thief, had to be ever aware of his smallest, most secret resistances and revolts, to connect immediately and unthinkingly the realization of God's watching with genuine obedience of soul and body.

CHAPTER 5

The Deserved Punishment

IN A PASSAGE adapted from the anonymous manual *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis*, Bernard Gui bluntly explained the purpose of executing heretics:

For the end of the office of inquisition is the destruction of heresy, which cannot be destroyed unless heretics are destroyed, who also cannot be destroyed unless their receivers, favorers, and defenders are destroyed. . . . For heretics are destroyed in two ways: in one way when they are converted from heresy to the true Catholic faith, according to Proverbs 12 [:7], *Turn the impious, and they will be no more*; in another way when, having been handed over to secular judgment, they are bodily burned.¹

In order of preference and organization, then, the attempt to destroy heresy in the person through conversion was followed, when necessary, by that person's destruction. The previous chapter illustrated inquisitors' efforts toward the first method through inquisition's extension of monastic spiritual discipline to lay Christians putatively touched by a broad span of heretical sin: observation of oneself and others, nurturing of inner glad obedience, and harsh correction in an ambitious economy of soul and body. As we have seen, Dominican inquisitors and colleagues followed currents in spiritual discipline and papal ecclesiology in averring that all Christians were bound within a universal "monastery" under God's omniscient rule, and posited *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* as the only sufficiently effective forum in which to restore this

“worse” sinner to God’s good favor. Yet what was to be done if this reintegrating scheme failed? That failure was ostensibly proven by the heretic’s impenitent unwillingness to accept the lessons provided in an *inquisitio*, or by relapse into error after having properly aligned the will and confessed that sin, a relapse that strongly implied that one had not, in fact, come to penance “with a good heart and genuine faith.” To inquisitors, refusing inquisition’s right discernments of true and false Christianity—a refusal in which a rejection of the Roman church’s authority to discern inerringly was embedded—left only the conclusion that the heretic, hostile to the Christian faith presented in inquisitions and other media, consciously wished to be outside of the Roman church and consequently beyond God’s favor. In addition to the offense presented to God by this apostate stubbornness, such truculence also had ancillary repercussions; to the injury of being “a dog returning to his vomit” (Proverbs 26:11), the relapsed added the insult of being “unmindful and ungrateful for the grace shown to you by the church.” And an impenitent heretic, a “murderer of souls” who endangered other Christians by leading them into like sin, had damned himself.² It was precisely these two classes of heretics, the recalcitrant who boldly asserted heresy despite inquisitors’ efforts to instruct and to convert, and the relapsed who returned to a previously abjured heresy after supposedly successful instruction, who were permanently ejected from the church’s reconciling forum of inquisition.³ Having refused the penitential medicine for his sin offered by the inquisitor, that “doctor of souls,” the heretic was left only with the more bitter secular cure for his crime. An inquisitor’s inability to “turn the impious” was dramatically marked by the handing over of the heretic to secular authority, acknowledging that the impenitent or relapsed heretic had exhausted and shunned inquisition’s atoning potentialities and was thus removed from the pastoral framework of ecclesiastical authority. As Jean Duprat said when sentencing the “relapsed” and “impenitent” Guillerma Torniera in 1328, “since the church does not perform what [one does] further about such people,” she belonged to secular judgment.⁴

While from the beginning of the eleventh century death was the customary response to heresy by various secular authorities, secular legislation on the death penalty began to be codified formally in the thirteenth. In the first half of the thirteenth century, various states in western Europe—Aragon, Léon-Castile, southern and northern France, the German and Italian territories of Frederick II—instituted death as the penalty for heresy as a secular crime, in

many cases formalizing that customary practice.⁵ As is well known, and as Jean Duprat reminds us, the secular arm was responsible for implementing that death penalty, and some apologists for inquisition have cited this as exculpating the medieval Roman church and its inquisitors.⁶ Yet the fact that secular authority was technically responsible for executing heretics “relinquished” to it does not mean that inquisitors were literally or conceptually removed from, or even disapproved of, a persistent heretic’s execution. Although excommunication remained the strongest ecclesiastical penalty for heresy until the late twelfth century, inquisition’s link to execution was supported by the development of ecclesiastical legislation on heresy by the Dominican commissions of the 1230s. When Innocent III’s *Vergentis in senium* (1199) charged those “wandering away in the faith of the Lord” with *lèse-majesté* against the “eternal majesty” of God, this innovative characterization of heresy as divine treason laid the foundation for more serious punishment through its allusion to the traditional penalties for secular treason.⁷ Gregory IX’s *Excommunicamus* (1231) agreed, ordering that “those condemned by the church may be relinquished to secular judgment, to be punished with the deserved punishment [*animadversio debita*].” Although Lucius III’s *Ad abolendam* in 1184 had used similar wording, the parallel developments in secular legislation against heresy meant that the “deserved punishment” for such a crime was, and would remain, death. The commentary of the canonist Hostiensis (c. 1255) on *Ad abolendam* shows that this new interpretation of *animadversio debita* in the mid-thirteenth century retroactively revised Lucius’s text. Hostiensis’ gloss on *debitam* stated flatly that “the deserved punishment is burning by fire, as is proved from the Lord’s words in John 15 [:6],” where Christ had stated that “if someone does not abide in me, he is cast out as a branch and dries out; and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they burn.”⁸ Hostiensis demonstrates here two crucial dynamics of medieval inquisitors’ and supporters’ construction of the death penalty’s explicitly Christian meanings that we will engage below: the successive interpenetration of circumstance and textual interpretation, and the “discovery” of biblical foundations for novel readings and practices.

Papal endorsement of the death penalty did not denote its frequency; the death penalty rarely appears in documented inquisitorial sentences from 1231 to 1331. According to Bernard Gui’s *Liber sententiarum*, 41 of the 633 sentences that this longtime inquisitor passed from 1308 to 1323 were abandonments to the secular arm; most of these were relapsed heretics, rather than the impen-

itent. The greatest number of heretics sentenced by Bernard to death at a single *sermo generalis* was 17, on April 5, 1310. The French historian Yves Dossat estimated that execution constituted only about 1 percent of inquisitorial sentences in this period.⁹ Also, the instructive literature of consultations and manuals did not dwell on execution, treating it unapologetically in a workmanlike manner (and occasionally without reference to the efficient role of secular authority), both in model sentences and in more theoretical discussions of the inquisitor's duties.¹⁰ Execution's low frequency in practice and text can be explained simply by remembering both that "first" method of eradicating heresy (the demand in Proverbs to "turn the impious"), and inquisition's broad attention to the less committed. The intent and structure of heresy inquisitions discussed previously—reflecting a surpassing cosmography that incorporated individual spiritual discipline and its penitential economy of body and soul—usually obviated recourse to the second. Once placed within a framework that provided many avenues to repent for the sin of heresy and to return to ecclesiastical unity, few people were so devoted to beliefs and acts deemed heretical that they were willing to die for them. The very ambition of inquisition's spiritual discipline, in which a broad spectrum of heretical "sin" demanded inquisitorial attention, meant that many infractions that called persons before inquisitors were mild. Contestation over the identity of "good Christians" and the "right faith," intertwined with inquisitorial instruction through interrogations and sermons, could result in agreement that the Roman church represented Christ's "right faith." In other words, with execution as with prison and crosses, a transcendent power claimed as both earthly and heavenly could be promoted by leniency and mercy just as well as (or better than) by cruel punishment.

Nevertheless, it is patent that despite its rarity in practice, and the formal jurisdiction of the secular arm when it did occur, inquisitors accepted with frank equanimity the execution of recalcitrant and relapsed heretics.¹¹ And this was not grudging acceptance, in which inquisitors looked with distant disfavor upon the secular shedding of blood as inimical to their own Christian work. Despite Jean Duprat's reference above to execution as a duty beyond the church, inquisitors saw a smooth flow between the heretic's removal from one court and punishment by another. References to burning in all genres concerning inquisition dissolved ideational and practical distance between inquisitors and the technically secular duty of burning. For example, Bernard Gui proudly credited the arrest and burning in 1300 of Gerard Segarelli,

leader of the Apostolic Brethren, to “the zeal and solicitude of inquisitors from the Order of Preachers,” with no mention of the secular arm. Bernard had earlier stated simply that Gerard had been “burned . . . by the judgment of the church.”¹² Executions did take place on Monday after the sentence had been imposed at Sunday’s *sermo generalis*, and inquisitors indeed made a formal request for mercy when abandoning someone to the secular arm: “we affectionately beg the court that . . . it should conserve for you life and limb, beyond danger of death.” However, inquisitors knew this was unlikely to be heeded; more significantly, that request was not explicitly discussed in the manuals and could even be omitted in practice, as it was, for example, in a sentence delivered by Bernard Gui upon a Waldensian in 1310. Bernard could say frankly in a sample sentence of an impenitent Beguin—shortly before formally requesting the secular arm for moderation—that this heretic had chosen to die in, and for, his errors rather than convert and rejoin the church.¹³ Such practical rhetoric (and inquisitors’ and fellow friars’ attendance at executions) demonstrates how inquisitors felt no need to distance themselves from burning, even publicly; this drew inquisition and execution closer together in the minds of both authorities and also the laypeople who witnessed such burnings.¹⁴ As we will see below, references in other ecclesiastical sources, such as chronicles and *exempla*, to the burning of heretics show an identical conflation, an identical disinterest in discriminating, and lack of perceived need to discern carefully between the “ecclesiastical” office of inquisition and the “secular” office of burning.

Dominicans serving as inquisitors between 1231 and 1331 worked in a world in which the Roman church formally agreed that persons judged to be recalcitrant or relapsed in an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* “deserved” death rather than “deserved” mere excommunication. To explain this endorsement, some scholars have gestured to the “mental and judicial habits proper to the century,” reducing inquisitors’ and clerics’ approval of the death penalty to, or rationalizing it by, the simple importation of secular justice into an ecclesiastical framework. And as the above phrase also suggests, it has been fit within the supposed phlegmatic acceptance of judicial brutality against wrongdoers of any kind in the Middle Ages. To the nineteenth-century progressive historian Henry Charles Lea, ecclesiastical stolidity concerning the killing of heretics was explicable by the “cruel” and unadvanced medieval temper, in which “passions were fiercer, convictions stronger . . . [and people] habitually looked on human suffering with indifference.”¹⁵ Yet neither the application

of secular justice to heresy nor a putative medieval sensibility inured to brutality sufficiently explains churchmen's support for the execution of heretics. As we see in a text like Innocent III's *Vergentis in senium*, secular crimes (treason, counterfeiting) and their penalties were a useful comparison, illustrating the enormity of heresy and legitimacy of its punishment. Yet secular analogues do not in themselves exhaust inquisitors' ideologies of execution. This is so for two reasons: first, because of their contextualized Christian definitions of "community" and "authority," and, second, because these analogues were deployed at particular historical moments and in specific application. Most simply, God could always be understood as superior king, but "divine treason" was only articulated formally in 1199.¹⁶ Similarly, appeal to a general medieval mentality or ferocity to explain the execution of heretics does not encourage a full exploration of how churchmen, as Christians, fit that activity explicitly within their religious duties and thought-worlds. While these thought-worlds were related to contemporary "mental and judicial habits," they were not identical to them.

This is well demonstrated by the fact that ecclesiastical and inquisitorial endorsement of execution developed within an atmosphere of two-pronged contestation. The first was the traditional ban on bloodshed by clergy, which had been reiterated as recently as the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁷ The second was the many complaints made by heretics about the injustice and impiety of the church's recourse to the death penalty. Heretics' objections to execution were quite familiar to inquisitors; both Anselm of Alexandria and Raynier Sacconi informed colleagues in their mid-thirteenth-century treatises on heresy that Waldenses claimed corporal and capital punishment to be illicit.¹⁸ Evidence also exists in trial transcripts. In a notable instance, several Franciscans testified in 1247 before Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre about the "good man" Peire Garsias's opposition to the death penalty. Deodatus of Rodez had heard him say that "God did not want the justice that someone should be judged to death." Peire told his kinsman Guilhem Garsias that he had advised Guillaume de Roais, consul in Toulouse, never to consent to sentencing anyone to death. Peire's general condemnation of the death penalty seemingly inculpated those who handed heretics over to the secular arm; "if an official judged someone to be a heretic, and that person was killed as a heretic, then the official was a murderer."¹⁹ In 1296, heretics were still testifying in interrogations that neither Christ nor the apostles had permitted the death penalty; as Bonigrino told inquisitor Guido of Vicenza in Bologna, the

commandment said “You shall not kill.”²⁰ Long after the church had, quite literally, given its blessing to the execution of heretics, many persons, although sprung from the same medieval environment of supposed ferocity, said bluntly that it was wrong.

This opposition throws into stark relief churchmen’s conviction of the compatibility of Christian piety with executing an individual baptized Christian. When Bonigrino averred that the death penalty violated “You shall not kill,” inquisitor Guido of Vicenza responded that the “Roman church,” and he himself, “neither believed nor held that belief.”²¹ The exchange demonstrates once again, of course, inquisition’s pandemic matter of discernment. But it also discloses interrogation’s ability to elicit the inquisitor’s own belief: here, an affirmative faith in the death penalty’s compatibility with scripture that an inquisitor sought to disseminate publicly. Holy violence was not a novelty in Christian texts, theology, or tradition; saints had long dealt roughly with those who crossed them, hell had long existed. Moreover, eleventh- and twelfth-century writers on heresy had previously pondered the justifiable degree of violence and of cooperation with secular authority against recalcitrant heretics and their supporters.²² By the early thirteenth century, after failed preaching missions in Languedoc, ecclesiastical thinking on the legitimacy of force both supported, and was then spurred by, the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). Malcolm Barber has argued that while contemporaries viewed the crusade’s brutality and violence as exceptional, the crusaders’ conceptions of the Albigensis as “treacherous”—a characterization linked to Innocent III’s *Vergentis in senium*—and “foreign” supported the suspension of usual rules of war. Henri Maisonneuve credited the Albigensian Crusade with providing a de facto denial of the clerical ban on bloodshed, followed by its near abolition through the papacy’s rethinking of the justifiable degree of force against heresy.²³ Consequently, Gregory IX’s appointment of Dominicans as inquisitors and his reiteration of the fitness of the “deserved punishment” in 1231 offered something old and something new in the church’s relationship with the secular penalty of death. The former was the legacy of earlier ecclesiastical grapplings over the harmony of death with persuasion and piety. The latter was the formal adhesion of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* to the secular penalty of death, in which clerics did not simply preach war or remind secular authorities of their duties, but rather institutionally handed over individual Christians as the conclusion of their failed process, gradually placing the secular penalty under the inquisitorial rubric. Moreover, now friars from an order de-

voted expressly to the *cura animarum* in the pastorate were deeply engaged in those executions of individual Christians. Those friar inquisitors, and their supportive colleagues, conceiving of execution as part of inquisition's practical and conceptual territory, contributed powerfully to a Christian ideology of execution. Harkening to past ideas about "the destruction of heresy" and responding to the death penalty's new tie to ecclesiastical inquisitions, they folded execution into the larger project of tending souls.

Medieval Christianity did not automatically generate the death penalty, and recourse to it was not inherent in Christianity's texts and traditions. As we glimpse above, execution was perhaps the hottest point of contestation over the piety and Christianity of heresy inquisitions: the pain of burning, the irreparability of death, the ostensible violation of a divine commandment. As possibly the grounds for inquisition's most controversial battle over what Christianity is, permits, and may encompass—what a sincerely faithful Christian may piously do—execution urgently demanded clerics' consideration of what, precisely, rendered it spiritually legitimate. What in Christian texts and traditions permitted, or obligated, an inquisitor to stand before a burning person, whom he had elected to deliver over to death? In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Dominicans harmonized their care of souls and their involvement with executions by elaborately and carefully constructing the Christian foundations for inquisition's recourse to burning. They sketched a history of God's divine punishment through death of those who had transgressed against, or apostasized from, his truth, order, and community. Either directly or through his earthly ministers, he had done so in the past, continued to do so in the present, and would do so in the future, both here below and in the afterlife. The execution of heretics could then be understood as part of that tradition and justice, sacralizing the death penalty and strengthening ties between papal and divine authority. Consequently, the ideology of transcendent community helps to explain the closing of the distance between "ecclesiastical" and "secular." If burning was technically beyond the penitential power of the inquisitor, it was not beyond the God for whom he labored. Again Christian souls—in this case, the impenitent—were folded within an inescapable community of eternal spiritual discipline whose governance was channeled through inquisition. The high-medieval ideologies of universal community and its eternal economy of body and soul, and from another direction the insistent arguments that true inheritors of Christ did not kill, cooperated to prompt inquisitors to form the "tradition" of holy violence by

which they argued, against those protesting voices, that execution *proved* inquisition to be wholly Christian. Once more we witness the complicated assembly of (one manifestation of) medieval Christianity, reconciling old authorities and new circumstances: inquisition's contested conversations forced inquisitors to shape their own Christian meanings in debate and defense, but when they did so, Christianity retroactively meant something else.

Reading the Bible: God the Past Killer

Of course, an important prerequisite in locating execution as part of God's violence was to number heretics among the wicked enemies of God. We have already seen some of the ways in which high-medieval ecclesiastical texts deployed and interpreted various biblical passages, locating "modern" heretics within a (timely) historical and (beyond-time) theological space. This joined them both to previous heretics in the church's history and, more broadly, to an evil against which God and those allied with him had contended since Satan's fall, and of which historical heresy (as well as other forms of denying God's truth and authority, like apostasy and idolatry) had always been a manifestation. But the Bible also showed that heretics' spiritual predecessors and analogues in this battle had been most severely punished. A significant component of the inquisitorial construction of Christian foundations for executing heretics was the reinterpretation, or new application, of biblical accounts of violence inflicted by God directly, or through his earthly agents, in order to punish violators of his law and apostates from his community. Such accounts were evoked not as metaphor, but rather as literal, historical precedents of, and justifying models for, the execution of malefactors. As with consideration of violence generally, citing such biblical texts to defend killing was not unfamiliar in the western church. For example, the fourth-century African bishop Optatus of Milevis's *De schismate donatistarum* (c.365) defended the coercion of Donatists by repeatedly citing the biblical story of Phineas (Numbers 25:6–18). Phineas, Aaron's grandson, killed an errant Israelite together with the man's lover, a Midianite woman, to arrest Israel's idolatrous straying into Midianite religion. The murders diverted God's wrath from Israel, largely staying the plague and winning for Aaron's descendants a perpetual priesthood.

More recently, clerics writing and preaching against heresy in the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries had appealed to such models; for example, the Cistercian Henry of Clairvaux's letters and sermons against heresy (1178) also cited Phineas.²⁴ Most influentially, Innocent III's and Gregory IX's several texts on heresy and inquisition mined the many instances in the Old Testament of holy killing, done by God directly or a surrogate: Phineas; Moses's slaying of the worshippers of the golden calf (Exodus 32:25–29); Samson slaying inimical, infidel Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judges 15:15–17); Achan, who stole some of the treasure from the fallen city of Jericho and was consequently stoned to death by Joshua and the Israelites to assuage God's "furor" (Joshua 7:20–26); Dathan, Abiron, and Korah, buried alive for rebelling against the leadership of Moses and Aaron over the Israelites (Numbers 16); Elijah's killing of 450 prophets of Ba'al at the river Kishon (3 Kings 18:40); Mattathias, who killed a Israelite sacrificing to a pagan idol (I Maccabees 2:24–26). All of these common Old Testament references concerned the deaths of those who sought to turn Israel away from its covenant and toward apostasy and idolatry. If it contained far fewer killings, the New Testament also included available instances of violence that Innocent and Gregory could deploy: Peter amputating the ear of Malchus, the high priest's slave, at Jesus' arrest; Ananias and Saphira, struck dead at Peter's word when they sought to deceive the early Christian community (Acts 5:1–11); Jesus' violent ejection of the moneychangers from the temple.²⁵ Significantly, while it was still the case in Innocent's letters that biblical exemplars of holy killing could serve as metaphors for spiritual sanctions, Gregory applied them explicitly to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* and to his endorsement of the death penalty. They were historical holy models of, and justification for, the execution of heretics by the secular arm. Divine violence against disobedient, apostate malefactors vividly described in the Old Testament had not ceased with the New Covenant, nor had it ceased in modern times. As the disobedient still existed, so did divine permission to kill, and the common citation of Acts indicated that the zeal of Old Testament figures as a force for killing had evolved into the authority of Peter.

Even more significant is the deployment by Dominican inquisitors themselves, and their clerical supporters, of such biblical examples of holy killing to imagine and to support the execution of recalcitrant heretics. This is so both because of these biblical references' consequent ability to reach the ground through practice, and because of their use by members of an order devoted to preaching, instruction, and the care of souls. One might claim that

the medieval papacy's endorsement of violence against its perceived enemies and those of Roman Christianity was a necessary evil, an unpleasant but unavoidable by-product of its deep involvement in the world. But even if one accepts this argument—and there are reasons to complicate it—the friars did not identically need to mingle with the violence of “worldly politics.” Their Christian readings of killing, among efforts to instruct and to minister, thus disclose more about the process of reinterpretation, of fashioning new truths in dialogue with context. Moreover, there is no shadow of metaphor in these friars' allusions. This may have been influenced by the Dominican order's generally practical approach to the Bible, preparing the brothers for preaching and teaching, the core of the apostolate, and related to the greater interest in literal, historical readings in thirteenth-century Dominican exegesis. Precisely this literalizing, “practicalizing” trend is patent among those Dominicans who seized upon biblical accounts of killing in order to support the execution of recalcitrant or relapsed heretics.²⁶ Moreover, those Dominican friars interpreting scripture to justify killing were familiar in practice with execution.

Humbert of Romans, the order's fifth master general, found in the Bible that death was the only possible solution to a heresy that refused to receive correction through gentler means. We have already encountered in Chapter 1 Humbert's *De modo prompte cudendi sermones* (c. 1266), the collection of model sermons that formed the second part of his preaching treatise, *De eruditione predicatorum*. We have likewise already seen the ways in which Humbert employed biblical imagery familiar to inquisition in the model sermons: wolves clothed as sheep for heresy's false piety; its wish to destroy the entire church (Samson and foxes with bound tails). Heretics “multiply the ways of going down to hell” through new sects; turned others from right living, and kept them from entering heaven. They were the pseudoprophets spoken of in the New Testament.²⁷ And Humbert's model sermon for crusade employed this rhetoric to defend and to promote violence against heresy. In this sermon, the preacher was to remind his listeners that the church had several remedies for heresy: teaching through preaching, disputation, talking things over together. Yet these mild cures often failed through heretics' sophistry and stubbornness. While excommunication was another, stronger, remedy, Humbert observed logically that since heretics denied the efficacy of priestly power, “they do not care about this.” More severe methods were thus in order, and these included death. The guilty might be punished “with respect to honors

through deposition, with respect to the body, with respect to temporal things through confiscation, through marks, now through death, when they are relinquished to the secular arm.”²⁸ But even these (inquisitorial) methods were impossible when heretics were protected by secular lords. Then, “when other more gentle remedies are not effective, the church uses military persecution against them.” However, the practicality of this violence was outshone by its biblical mandate:

And note that according to the old law, there are three kinds of people worthy of death. One is blasphemers. Leviticus 24 [:16]: *Who blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death.* Another is those transgressing against the community. Exodus 22 [:18]: *You shall not suffer malefici to live.* For they are called *malefici* who harm others. Another is the prophetic, that is, those who have a divining spirit in the belly. Leviticus 20 [:27]: *A man or woman, in whom there is magic or spirit of divination, shall be put to death.* Therefore, since heretics are blasphemers in the highest degree, who say many unbecoming things about God, and in the highest degree they harm the community, that is, the church . . . and have a spirit of divination or evil, at whose instance they doubtless prophesy many things, and talk foolishly about the scriptures, what is to be done about them in the new law, in which there ought to be more zeal for the faith, and all truth, and honor?²⁹

To Humbert, the answer was clear: despite the church’s “grief” or reluctance, the justifiability—rather, the obligation—to kill those who exceeded even the categories of malefactor that had deserved death under the less demanding old covenant. While Humbert recognized that the supporting texts he cited here were found in the Old Testament and not the New, he sought to fill this lacuna by arguing that the “new law,” by its nature if not as explicitly by its content, demanded punishment more stridently. The gospel of Christianity impelled death against enemies and apostates even more so than before Christ’s coming, upending any arguments that the new covenant demanded, say, forgiveness or peace. As Humbert here explained that by “community” [*respublica*] he meant “the church,” and carefully catalogued biblical categories (“blasphemer,” etc.) as applicable to that community, it is clear that Humbert sought to provide an expressly Christian foundation for crusade, applicable also to individual killing resulting from handing over to the secular arm. And

although Humbert ended the model sermon by reiterating that the church, “although unwilling and with grief,” had recourse to violence only as a last resort after repeated attempts at reconciliation, he had proven that this last resort was, after all, prescribed by specific biblical texts, including Psalm 93 (“Who will rise with me against the malignant?”). The sermon linked for its audience the Old Testament and the New, the past and present, biblical precedent and current papal policy.

Moneta of Cremona

The best example of the deployment of these biblical models among Dominicans is Moneta of Cremona’s *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, compiled circa 1241–1244. We have already encountered this treatise (in the Introduction and in Chapter 1), which Moneta intended to prepare and to guide his many Dominican colleagues who combated heresy, and which explicated at impressive length heretics’ variable opinions and practices, providing pungent refutations. Moneta wished that heretics be “vomited out” of the church, “because incessantly they strive for [its] desolation,” and the means of purging the impenitent was the ejection that meant their death. His remarkable defense of the death penalty in this treatise—mounted against the charge that it was incompatible with Christian piety—constitutes our most sustained, comprehensive, and systematic rereading of the Bible as mandating the execution of heretics. Moneta complained about heretics’ supposedly false assertion that in the policy and activity of “our priests” against heresy, Catholics “were inflamed with the same anger” as the Pharisees who killed the apostles. According to Moneta, his discussion of *Non occides*—“On the commandment *You shall not kill*, whence heretics argue that persecution and punishment are illicit”—would prove that Roman clerics were “rather armed with justice against heretical pravity.”³⁰ It is clear from Moneta’s treatise, as elsewhere, that the “correct” interpretation of *Non occides*, and the consequent question of whether the Bible forbade or permitted the death penalty, were significant points of dispute in the contestation over the Christian faith surrounding inquisition, and that inquisitors could respond with detailed exegesis. In his presentation of “heretical” and catholic readings of this commandment, Moneta amputated heretics from the Bible, building a structure of divine and ecclesiastical authority, judgment, and punishment within which the biblical

punishment of transgressors modeled theologically, and preceded historically, the executions related to heresy inquisitions. And Moneta's intention that the treatise be used as a practical guide for his Dominican colleagues meant that this vision of Christianity was to be articulated publicly among those who contested its vision of divine justice.

The need for this articulation, and the difficulties of discernment and contestation, were obvious from the many arguments levied against execution that Moneta recorded in his treatise. According to Moneta, different sects generally viewed it as contradictory to several seemingly transparent pronouncements of Christ, citing several gospel texts that probably do not surprise us. These included Christ's instructions to his followers to turn the other cheek; to give up their cloak too when their coat was demanded; to love their enemies; to pray for their persecutors; to forgive and they would be forgiven; to learn from his example of gentleness and humility; to judge not lest they be judged; to be merciful as the Father is merciful; and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them. The Beatitudes had praised the weak, the persecuted, and the cursed. According to Moneta's imagined interlocutors, each of these gospel passages could be extrapolated from to condemn the death penalty generally and the Roman church's support of it specifically. More pointedly, Christ had prevented violence among his followers at his arrest; when Peter wounded the high priest's slave, Jesus ordered him to resheath his sword.³¹ Heretics asserted that the New Testament presented comprehensively an image of Christ and the apostles as the persecuted, never the persecutors, providing a paradigm for his true followers to emulate. Consequently, the Roman church's endorsement of the death penalty delegitimized entirely its claim to be of Christ's foundation and caretaker of his truth; if pope and clerics were persecutors and not persecuted, they were allied not with Christ, but with his enemies. Such arguments underscore the significance of any friar's defense of the death penalty. And they point not just to the weight of the Roman church's choice to support execution, but also to how its interpretations and reinterpretations of biblical texts needed specifically to "prove" that Christians who killed remained the genuine inheritors of Christ's legacy.

Moneta disagreed that the New Testament, let alone the Old, forbade and oppugned the death penalty, and his assiduous exposition of *Non occides* labored hard to identify execution as a modern instance of a traditional holy killing directed by God. According to Moneta, the Bible—with properly chosen and correctly interpreted texts—tells us that the killing of malefactors by

secular authority is licit, desirable, and pious in certain circumstances, namely when done under proper jurisdiction and authority, and with right intention and motivation. Moneta differed from his interlocutors by depending particularly on the Old Testament and the letters of Paul. But he also fearlessly appropriated gospel texts in favor of his argument, and these most strikingly show the mechanisms of his reinterpretation of the Bible. A dramatic instance is Moneta's exegesis of the woman seized for adultery (John 8:3–11). Moneta's imagined opponents had pointed out that when the scribes and Pharisees asked Jesus whether she should be executed by public stoning, the penalty prescribed by Mosaic law, he had responded that the one without sin should cast the first stone. This, they argued, was an obvious expression of disapproval for her execution and thus condemned any death penalty. Moneta countered that for several reasons, Jesus' statement could not be interpreted either as a denial of her licit execution or as a universal, transhistorical ban on killing malefactors: "although he spared her, it does not follow from this that she could not be justly killed." Jesus' words were rather applicable only to this particular case, which failed to meet the requirements of right jurisdiction, authority, and procedure. Jesus knew that he was not a legitimate judge over her and should not determine her punishment; her accusers had fled, crippling a fair trial. He should not judge by himself, but rather through appropriate ministers. The Jews who seized the woman were of equal or greater sin. Moneta responded tantalizingly to his opponents' riposte that Jesus knew very well that no human was "without sin," and thus prevented anyone—ever—from casting a stone in execution, with a blunt "prove it." After all, 1 John (1:7) referred to Christians as "cleansed of sin." Finally, Moneta argued that Jesus' invitation that the one without sin cast the first stone should be read with a striking literalism, its tone stripped of the challenging irony that other readers might supply: "as the lord permits he who is without sin to stone her, it proves that it was not evil." On the contrary, Jesus wished the "minister of secular judgments" to perform the "good office" of execution.³²

Those "ministers" whom God had long used as earthly tools for his judgments of death were crucial in Moneta's movement from biblical to contemporary times, and he identified legitimate judges as the possessors of right authority and jurisdiction. Here particularly Moneta cited the biblical accounts of holy killing that commonly appeared in previous ecclesiastical texts on heresy and inquisition. Moses had killed idolaters and Elijah "killed many" prophets of Ba'al at the Kishon River "with his own hand"; these killings were

“punishment of their sin.” When Waldenses apparently disputed the identity of those “princes and powers” who held right authority, Moneta observed that “in the Old Testament, although they are called princes . . . this was because of the use of the material sword, which they exercised in their own person, as is clear in Phineas.” Despite Korah, Dathan, and Abiron’s claim to worship the same God as Moses and Aaron, nevertheless, because they transgressed against Aaron’s authority, “they were struck down by heaven.”³³ God’s use of lieutenants to kill the unjust had not ceased with the new covenant; for example, God had sent an angel to kill Herod (Acts 12:23). Given the Old Testament legitimacy of such judges, Christ’s instruction to “Judge not, lest you be judged” was not universally valid: “Christ did not take away judgment from those who have the office of judging or those who are constituted to this, but it is taken away from those who do not have this office.” This proviso thus explained Christ’s rebuke to Peter after his wounding of Malchus, the high priest’s slave, as Peter did not then hold licit power to judge or to punish.³⁴ Moneta’s devotion to the idea that the Bible allowed proper authority to punish justly even led him to discover such permission in the arrests of Christ and of Paul. When heretics cited Luke 22:53 (“this is your hour and the power of darkness”) as a condemnation of punitive secular authority, Moneta retorted that Christ did not say these words at his arrest “to Pilate, but to the Jews, who did not have the office of judging.” Moneta also argued that the Roman authorities who persecuted Paul had legitimate power to punish. Kings, princes, and other secular authorities who imposed death on recalcitrant heretics in Moneta’s day likewise possessed that legitimate “office of judging” and punishing, exercising a venerable and licit power.³⁵ However, those authorities could only execute justly with the right intention and motivation; Moneta argued that while punishment from anger, spite, or greed was wrong, the Bible showed that execution was permitted and even encouraged to protect the spiritual community, to obey God, to preserve justice, and to correct wrongdoers. No one would complain that the shepherd unjustly “persecuted” the wolf threatening his flock by killing it, recognizing instead his responsibility to take extreme measures for protection. Moneta repeatedly cited Abraham’s willingness to sacrifice Isaac, and the praise this willingness won, as evidence that killing could be motivated by laudable intentions, and that God approved of killing in obedience.³⁶

Moneta’s premise that the Bible fashioned rules for, and modeled, righteous executions subsequently acted as a lens through which all other scriptural

texts pertinent to punishment and forgiveness should be read, including Jesus' seemingly plain words preaching pacifism and patience.³⁷ If Jesus and Paul themselves did not turn the other cheek in their dealings with wrongdoers, then Jesus' words must be circumstantial advice, not exhaustive command. Secure in his theories of right authority and right motivation, Moneta could ultimately interpret Jesus' own citation in Matthew 5:21 of *Non occides* with "as in the Old Testament, so now [the commandment] is only understood concerning the innocent: 'O judge, you shall not kill the innocent.' Or it is said to a person who does not have certain jurisdiction." He asserted the materiality of the authority and punishment mentioned in the Bible rather than the metaphorical or spiritual readings offered by heretics, who claimed "kings" and "judges" to be clerics rather than secular authority, and "punishment" and "killing" as the spiritual punishment of the last judgment.³⁸ Moneta's method of biblical interpretation was thus a peculiar kind of literalism: seizing upon the literal, historical truth of some accounts that were then used to revise or deny the apparent literalism of others. Moneta offered, then, not just a defense of the death penalty, but a reading and exegetical practice dependent upon the "truth" of inquisition, in which the Bible became a model not for, say, poverty and simplicity, but instead death and punishment. The interpretive premise of context interpreted some texts, which in turn reinterpreted all others. Moneta's defensive exegesis thus resulted in a new definition of what it meant to imitate the biblical exemplar of Christ and the apostles, an imitation to which any Dominican would have been keenly sensitive. Moneta also recalled accounts in the New Testament of the apostles chastising and punishing wrongdoing with violence, which he explicitly identified as models for the present church. While Paul proved his willingness to appeal to the force of secular authority and argued for firm congregational discipline, he also blinded Elymas (Acts 13:8–11), which was "done as a sign that [God's] ministers, that is princes, can both kill and blind malefactors." Peter himself had executed Ananias and Saphira after their failure to give the apostles the entire proceeds from a sale of property. When heretics apparently retorted that in this incident Peter killed with speech rather than with a weapon, Moneta observed with tart logic that "so long as someone is killed, it does not matter whether it is by a word or by a sword."³⁹ To "hold the place of Peter" was to kill. Support of killing did not invalidate the pope's role as Peter's vicar; rather, given this rereading of the Bible, it confirmed it. To be "apostolic" was to kill the disobedient and apostate.

Moneta also repeatedly cited Christ's eviction of the moneychangers from the temple, where Christ "gave an example to pastors" to use both "words and wounds" against the errant. Thus while heretics depicted a Christ and the apostles who suffered persecution rather than imposing it, Moneta used these biblical accounts of violence to argue for an important distinction: while they were sent to sustain unjust persecution, they also performed just persecution.⁴⁰ Moneta's defense of killing, in a move similar to that of inquisitor-saint hagiography, redefined *imitatio Christi*; the Christ he found in the Bible was not a gentle pacifist preaching forgiveness. Rather, Christ was a midpoint in a fierce history of divine punishment and killing, himself following the Old Testament tradition of holy vengeance and also providing a model for his future church. Clerics and secular authorities who supported or conducted executions were not only the most recent examples of those ministers of God used to punish those who turn away from him, but were then the true imitators of Christ.⁴¹ In fact, secular authority that performed executions loved the malefactor just as God loved him; "at the same time I can hate and love the enemy; to love with a love of the heart and to hate with a love of vengeance." As the Lord loves his enemies but nevertheless exacts revenge upon them, the church, as his imitator, does likewise through the agency of secular authority.⁴² This affirmation that a punishing authority emulated God through killing was a ponderous conclusion to Moneta's defense. Moneta observed that in the Bible, God does not fornicate or commit theft, but he does indeed often kill: "divine love is to be imitated by us. . . . [but] the Lord punishes whom he loves and he afflicts, rather he also kills them, whether they like it or not." The syllogistic conclusion was that as God does not sin, but God kills, therefore killing is not necessarily a sin.⁴³ The execution of heretics supported, rather than sabotaged, inquisition's claim to uphold God's truth. To kill was to imitate God; to kill was to demonstrate inheritance of Christian legacy.

It is important to reiterate that Moneta composed his lengthy defense in response to charges that inquisitors and preachers encountered in their work. His fellow Dominicans were intended to adopt these arguments in conversations with heretics and sympathizers troubled by the church's recourse to the death penalty and convinced it was unchristian and spiritually delegitimizing. Moneta's exegesis of *Non occides* and his arguments about execution stripped the Bible from heretics, asserting that they read it incorrectly and were thus not its true heirs, claiming for the Roman church alone the power to interpret, to

name, and to identify. Yet for inquisition's Christian meanings, Moneta's particular identifications in this defense were more significant than that stripping and those claims. Certainly Moneta saw the circumstances of licit executions the Bible putatively endorsed—right motivation, right authority, right fault—as applicable to the killing of heretics. Modern heretics were the spiritual successors to those Old and New Testament violators of God's truth and order, their very dissension from it patent in the opinions and readiness to disagree that Moneta recorded in the treatise. Heretics who refused to be corrected could likewise be killed for their rebellion and truculence; others would perhaps be turned rightly by their deaths. Moneta's identification of secular authorities as "ministers of God," modern versions of those biblical tools of his vengeance, well illustrates how a friar conceptually bridged inquisition and the ostensibly strictly "secular" responsibility of executing heretics. These constructions together were then enormously important for the sewing together of divine and earthly justice through execution. Past precedent was pushed into the present through the emulation of these models by inquisitors and their supporters; the Bible became a book in which all texts, however ostensibly contrary, could support the "deserved punishment." We see again the productive opportunities of contestation over the Christian faith for inquisition, as one Dominican responsively but carefully grappled with the Bible, ending in a Christianity that properly killed.

"Shunning"

Let us look briefly at the evolution of a different kind of biblical model: a text that did not recount a tale of punishment. Dominican inquisitors and colleagues could also reinterpret more subtle texts as scriptural justification for the execution of heretics. An important example was the appeal in Paul's letter to Titus that "after the first and second reproof, avoid the factious person, knowing that he is . . . as one condemned by his own judgment" (Titus 3:10–11). In the later Middle Ages, this passage was peculiarly applicable to heresy, especially as the Vulgate translated the original Greek phrase *haeretikon anthropon* as *hereticum hominem*, enabling the text to be read with the subsequent weight borne by "heretic." Proponents of Gregorian Reform in the late eleventh century had used this text in support of condemning, anathematizing, and deposing a "heretical" king, or one opposed to reform.

And when Bernard of Clairvaux alluded to Titus 3:10–11 in one of his sermons on heresy, he interpreted the text’s “avoiding” or “shunning” as causing the person to be “driven away or even bound.” Similarly, Raymond of Peñafort briefly referred to Titus 3:10–11 in his discussion of heresy in the *Summa de paenitentia*, although he interpreted it mildly as ceasing to bother instructing the factious person in the faith.⁴⁴

However, by the late thirteenth century, Titus 3:10–11 had become the structural blueprint for an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*. In this model, the text’s “shunning” became explicit support for the death penalty. In the *Summa theologiae* (c. 1265–1274), Thomas Aquinas neatly encapsulated the current *status quaestionis* on the death penalty for heresy, first presenting three reasons why heretics should not be executed. Death precluded them from ever doing penance in the future, which violated Paul’s admonition that God might someday grant the errant the desire for penance; 1 Corinthians (11:19) claimed that heresies were necessary to the church; the common biblical reference to “wheat and tares” could be interpreted as demanding that the tares (heretics) be left until the harvest, that is, the end of the world. However, in opposition to these points, Thomas cited Titus 3:10–11. Adopting the same comparison that Innocent IV’s *Ad extirpanda* (1252) had used to defend the torture of heretics, Thomas concluded that on the one hand, the heretic’s sin justly demanded death; counterfeiters suffered this penalty, and “it is much more serious to corrupt the faith, through which is the life of the soul, than to counterfeit money.” On the other hand, the church was merciful and wished to convert the errant. Consequently, Thomas concluded that the church should first offer the heretic opportunity for correction. “But afterwards, if he is found still to be pertinacious, the church . . . should take care for the salvation of others”; first expelling him from the church through excommunication, it then “relinquishes him to secular judgment to be expelled from the world through death.”⁴⁵ Titus 3:10–11 thus constituted the core of Thomas’s conclusion that the execution of the heretic was appropriate and even prescribed by the Bible. And his exegesis then significantly posited inquisition as an attempt at the corrective exhortation of *correptio*, and the death penalty as “avoidance.”

We see the draining of this exegesis into Dominican inquisitorial texts. After Thomas, the anonymous author of the inquisitorial manual *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis* (c. 1280), in a passage later borrowed by Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis*, explicitly read Titus 3:10–11 as mandating the

execution of heretics who “pertinaciously and obstinately persevere in malice.” After unsuccessful attempts at correction and conversion, “they are to be relinquished to the secular arm and judgment to be punished with the deserved punishment, according to what is said in the letter to Titus, 3.”⁴⁶ Titus 3:10–11 was thus interpreted in these inquisitorial texts as furnishing the template and rationale for the entire process of an *inquisitio*: attempts at instruction and persuasion through interrogation, then abandonment in recognition of the heretic’s self-destruction. By refusing that “correction,” the heretic had, in effect, “destroyed himself,” or ejected himself from inquisition’s penitential forum and handed himself over to the secular arm. Shunning was not ostracization from the earthly community of the church; it was the removal from its reconciliatory possibilities, demanding the execution that aligned worldly and otherworldly “destruction.” Paul’s “shunning” in the letter to Titus was, of course, unconnected to death, and this interpretation was a new and significant instance of the rereading of the Bible to construct a tradition of just killing. Moreover, removal from the church had come to mean both death and its translation of the “one destroyed” to a different locale in God’s transcendent community. Through this appeal to Titus 3:10–11, inquisitors were furnished with another permissive biblical text, and *inquisitio* was again locked into the complexities of Christian and biblical time. We see the evolution of a text that with its language of correction could reasonably fit onto *inquisitio*, providing a retroactive mandate for the death it never envisioned.

Contestation over the death penalty partly led to this construction of its biblical foundations, positing it as spiritually sound, historically traditional, and wholly Christian. But those scriptural models were themselves vulnerable to contestation. The famous Na Prous Boneta, during her inquisitorial interrogation in 1325, claimed that the righteous executed were like the holy innocents in the gospel, and “Herod, namely the devil, procured the death of those burned lepers and Beguins.” Those who executed were not biblical “ministers of God” in her estimation, and scriptural examples of unjust killings were likewise available for her dissenting appropriation.⁴⁷ Heretics’ denial that the church justly had recourse to the secular death penalty itself qualified as heresy, as it supposedly resulted from ignorant misreadings of the Bible, wicked denial of the church’s ability to interpret and identify authoritatively, and eventually also the rejection of an ostensibly stable, reasonable tradition. As Bernard Gui stated in his catalogue of Waldensian errors,

From the same fount of error and of wayward understanding, the aforesaid sect and heresy teaches . . . that it is against the prohibition of God that any judge in whatever case and from whatever cause should judge a man to the torture of the body or penalty of blood, or to death, applying to this without the deserved exposition the words of the holy gospel where it is written: *Judge not, lest you be judged*, likewise, *You shall not kill*, and similar things, not understanding nor receiving these things as the holy Roman church soundly understands and hands them down to the faithful according to the teaching of the fathers and doctors.⁴⁸

There was a “deserved exposition” of the “deserved punishment.” By the early fourteenth century, Bernard Gui and other inquisitors could speak of a venerable tradition of “fathers and doctors” who had interpreted biblical texts on judgment and killing and had concluded “soundly” that scripture mandated the execution of recalcitrant heretics. Together in this period several Dominicans, perusing the Bible, “discovered” and loudly proclaimed that the God who had commanded “You shall not kill” was himself a killer. The application of these texts to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* theologically confronted the new circumstances of inquisitors personally handing over baptized Christians, and intended to address in practice an arsenal of arguments for the spiritual illegitimacy of the death penalty. Execution became traditional. With the exception of Thomas Aquinas, these Dominicans were not university theologians or exegetes, but friars, like their colleagues, using the Bible as a practical tool in the apostolate. And they illustrate the plasticity of the Bible as one authority for the Christian faith, as the exemplarity presented there of Christ and the apostles was the exemplarity of killing.

The Present and Future of Divine Killing

We need a broader view of the true world of divine killing for Dominican inquisitors, a better sense of its present and future and how they related to the execution of heretics. We must then move from the biblical “ministers of God” identified as secular authorities and ecclesiastics to God himself as a direct actor in contemporary inquisitorial punishment. Divine violence did not stop with the apostles’ killings in Acts; biblical deaths were not just exemplars,

but ancestors. Inquisitors and supporters continued this scriptural tradition—its identification of God as killer—to their present by emphasizing God's own violence against impenitent heretics through miracle and damnation. This violence, present and future, earthly and eternal, was bound closely to the practical inquisitorial violence of the death penalty. Collections of miracle tales and *exempla*, short illustrative stories for use in preaching, served as a way to argue publicly to lay audiences that while they might consider the executions of their heretical neighbors as a violation of *Non occides* and as martyrdoms, such killings were, rather, endorsed by God himself.

Again, these connections between divine and human violence arose from extant Christian tradition, and were put into new application with *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* and the formal papal endorsement of execution in 1231. God and his saints had, of course, long wielded very earthly tools of punishment against rejectors of their holy authority, as was visible frequently in hagiographies and chronicles. More immediately, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, ecclesiastical writers extended to heresy specifically the theme of the divine "execution" of the wickedly errant. For example, Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay's *Hystoria albigensis* (1212–1218) included several miracles that positioned the brutal victories of the Catholic forces in the Albigensian Crusade as the result of God's direct intervention.⁴⁹ Less ambitiously, but perhaps more pertinently to the linking of divine violence to the death penalty, other tales showed individual heretics to be miraculously punished with death for their blasphemy, disobedience, and diabolism. The theme of the miraculous punishment of heretics was prominent in Pierre's fellow Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exempla* collection, *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1222). In one example of many, Caesarius reported that "certain signs and portents" performed by heretics through "diabolical power" caused many of the faithful misguidedly to embrace heresy. When some heretics were exercising this devilish power by walking on water, a priest, "knowing that true signs cannot exist with false doctrine," threw a host into the river; in this quasi-ordeal, "fantasy ceded to truth" and the heretics drowned. According to an anonymous *exemplum* about Guillaume de Donjeon, archbishop of Bourges (1200–1209), a heretic who kept interrupting the bishop as he preached against *boni homines* at Castres was excommunicated and immediately fell down dead.⁵⁰ These tales surely alluded to the common and persistent problem of discernment, which, as we have seen, would long continue to be an obstacle in heresy inquisitions; they also foreshadow the later miracles "disclosing" heresy asso-

ciated with Peter Martyr and Dominic (including Dominic's own "ordeal" in the miracle of the book). Yet while the tales concerning inquisition and violent punishment that followed these predecessors likewise surely hoped to confront the problem of discernment, they did so in a differently heated context: not one of disputation or even crusade, but one that struggled over the Christian legitimacy of a priest-inquisitor sending an individual to death. Within the ideological and rhetorical context of miraculous violence against unbelievers, Dominicans in the thirteenth century applied traditional divine power to the new circumstances of ecclesiastically endorsed executions, explicitly associating the themes of discernment, miracle, and violence with inquisition. Here we see the familiar traveling between worlds, the direct speech of God, the fabulous consequences of human action that were always a feature of miracle tales, sketching the nature and stakes of heresy, disclosing it as impiety and error. But in these "inquisitorial" tales, that travel, that speech, and those consequences also wove together God's violence with that of inquisition, forming a powerful continuity of divine and earthly justice. While biblical interpretations like those of Moneta had positioned modern executions as ethically legitimate, the most recent stage in a historical tradition of earthly chastisement (from Moses to Peter to pope), these tales drew together more closely punishment in this world and in the next.

Étienne de Bourbon, Dominican inquisitor in southeastern France circa 1235, compiled around 1260 an unfinished exempla collection, *Tractatus de diversiis materiis praedicabilibus*, now famous for its account of the dog-saint Guinefort.⁵¹ Étienne's text, organized on the plan of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, is particularly significant in constructing a tradition of God's violence with which inquisitorial violence was linked and from which it derived its Christian character. While this lengthy collection was comprised of standard *exempla* material and used many usual sources, it is especially suited to disclose this connection between divine and inquisitorial violence for two reasons: because of Étienne's own activity as an inquisitor, and because of his role, which we will examine further below, in establishing a "Christianity of fear." Many of the tales that concerned heresy were located in the section on pride within the book on the gift of strength, where Étienne described heresy as "the mother of error and presumption," its modern practitioners in continuity with the Manichees about whom Augustine spoke.⁵² Étienne's own experiences as an inquisitor were visible in the tales of Guinefort's cult, of his attendance at Robert le Bougre's conflagration of nearly two hundred condemned

“Manichean” heretics at Mont-Aimé in 1239, and of a woman who told the visiting Étienne she deserved to be burned because of her doubts.⁵³ They were also perceptible in his references to his friend Romeu of Llivia, the provincial prior of Provence who was the recipient of two important inquisitorial texts: Gregory IX’s reissue in 1233 of *Ille humani generis*, commissioning Dominicans there as inquisitors; and archbishop of Vienne Jean de Bernin’s consultation (1235) on particular points of inquisitorial procedure. Romeu was the source for Étienne’s *exemplum* about women who realized that they had been sleeping with disguised demons, a tale illustrating the devil’s falsity, which appeared in the book on strength. More interestingly, Étienne also credited Romeu with the miracle tale in which Dominic produced the apparition of a giant diabolical cat for nine heretical women, which he included in the book on fear.⁵⁴ Romeu’s role in establishing inquisitions in southern France, and the resemblances between the cat miracle, etymologies of “Cathar,” and Gregory IX’s *Vox in Rama*, which featured a strikingly similar demonic cat, link these two components of a constructed tradition: the evocation of biblical models of violence, and miracles disclosing heresy’s wickedness.⁵⁵

Like many of Étienne’s *exempla* that concerned heresy and inquisition, Dominic’s cat miracle confronted the problem of discernment, demonstrating that God solved confusion about “good Christians” that even skillful preaching could not. But Étienne maintained that the death penalty itself solved this problem, by stripping away heretics’ assumed guise of piety and identifying them indubitably as unchristian. Only at their end would they admit that their pious practices were a misleading sham, looking not to heaven as would a confident martyr, but instead “to hell, where is their portion and inheritance with the apostate Judas.”⁵⁶ Moreover, these identifications through burning also occurred in a more miraculous fashion, as God himself made plain the distinction between an orthodox Christian’s martyrdom and a heretic’s execution. Another *exemplum* recounted that after the burning of a certain heretic, his followers gathered the ashes as the relics of an ostensible martyr, dead for the faith. When one of them had an eye affliction, he, as customary with a saint’s relic, placed the ashes on his eyes. However, when he did so, he was not cured, but instead “immediately . . . was completely blinded.”⁵⁷ In Étienne’s book on fear, to illustrate the foul odor of the damned in hell, he reported that when he had attended the burning outside Clermont of a certain “horrible and most obstinate” heretic, there was an instructive surprise: “although burned human flesh [is not] accustomed to

stink . . . an unexpected and abominable stench spread itself through the city upon those who had not come out to his burning . . . this seemed well to me, so that it might be clear how fetid was he and his horror.”⁵⁸ Étienne hinted here at the future violence that “fetid” heretics would suffer in hell. And by miraculously discrediting the “martyr” and malodorously identifying heresy as “horror,” God uniquely taught spectators and the absent (whether from apathy or sympathy) lessons of discernment while dramatically demonstrating his own approval for burning as a just response to “horrible” heresy. In doing so, as we have also seen with miracles concerning Dominic and Peter of Verona, the God of these tales allied himself with inquisitorial practice. The unstable identifications of “martyr” and “damned” were, of course, contested on both sides.⁵⁹ Étienne’s insistent lesson that executed heretics were not martyrs resulted precisely from spectators’ horror at the execution of “good Christians”—a horror reflected in Humbert of Romans’s recommendation of targeted preaching at executions to assuage dissent; in interrogations’ questions about whether executed heretics were martyrs; and in the likely reality of ashes and bones being gathered as relics. Étienne’s *exempla* asserted the ability of inquisitors to discriminate accurately between true and false Christian, discriminations pushed to the point of death, but miraculously and justly confirmed by God.

The same themes of discernment and justice through miracle appear at the end of our period in *Scala coeli*, an *exempla* collection by Jean Gobi the younger, a friar in the Dominican convent at Saint-Maximin.⁶⁰ While Jean was not an inquisitor, here a God of fear became even more closely bound to the earthly punishment of burning. *Scala coeli*, composed between 1323 and 1330, echoes the familiar theme of quarrels over discernment, with assertions that violence against heresy was just and that divine intervention was uniquely able to remove heretics’ mask of piety. *Scala coeli*’s section *De heresi* began with the warning that “Heresy brings on many evil things to us,” including “eternal damnation,” privation of the sacraments, and corruption of others. Its tales, particularly the two that illustrated that corruption, offered traditional lessons about identity, discernment, and violence. In one, borrowed from Étienne de Bourbon, visitors to a holy man’s cell left a repellent stench; when he asked God to show him its cause, it was revealed that their heresy was to blame. We have already encountered the other, in which a man disfigured in the Albigensian Crusade interrupted a sermon by Bishop Fulk of Toulouse—who in 1215 had assigned Dominic’s fledgling movement the

task of “root[ing] out heretical pravity”—to complain that genuine sheep did not usually bite the wolves.⁶¹ Jean’s repetition of an early thirteenth-century tale indicates how Dominicans, after a century of their order’s “rooting out” through inquisition, still sought to assert publicly that the Roman faith (and not heresy in whatever guise) was true Christianity. It was, perhaps, the consistency of these problems of dissent and discernment that led to Jean’s aggrandizement of Étienne’s themes, as his *exempla* foregrounded God’s participation in earthly burning.

For other tales in Jean Gobi’s chapter on heresy more pointedly sought to confront discernment by eliding divine and earthly violence through God’s miraculous, inquisitorial “killing.” Jean’s first *exemplum* in this section, which he incorrectly credited to Jacques de Vitry (d.1240), defined inquisitorial execution as a kind of supernatural obligation:

A certain heretic [was] warned by his friends that at the arrival of inquisitors he should pretend to be a fool and let himself be bound in the church, lest he be burned and his kind be confounded. He agreed and did so, and when the door was closed, a certain demoniac who was there, having broken his chains, approached the heretic saying, “You believe you will evade the hands of the inquisitors through fraud, but I will perform their office [or, do their duty].” And gathering together many pieces of wood, he burned him.⁶²

This story certainly depicted execution as inquisitors’ *officium* rather than a secular one, again demonstrating how the putative distance between ecclesiastical inquisition and secular burning regularly closed in practice and in imagination. It implied a fearful beyond of demons and fire. But more important, the *exemplum* argued for the continuity of inquisitorial and divine justice. The inquisitors’ “office” of burning the recalcitrant heretic, accomplished in this case by the demoniac, was so righteous that it must be effected. Even demons so respected divine justice that they helped to implement it on earth when inquisitors could not. And if the inquisitors had been able to “do their duty,” it would have been likewise righteous. The need of divine justice to be realized on earth meant that the latter had to be inflicted through supernatural means when natural ones were obstructed. There was no escape from final punishment, no ruse that God could not perceive, no disguise God could not peer through; even demons as members of

this universal community of justice and punishment were tools of punishment on earth as they were in hell.

Likewise, Jean reported that when a *pessimus hereticus* in Toulouse was led to the fire to be executed, he cried "My God, help me!" The flames instantly divided, sparing him; after they were relit, he was again saved after an identical appeal, when water from above doused the fire. These two ostensibly divine rescues prompted the gathered crowd to question who was truly the guilty party, as "the people wished to free him and to burn the Dominican inquisitor." We have already witnessed how contestation over discernment, paired with acceptance of a spiritual economy promoted by inquisitors (from injustice to heresy to diabolism to punishment), could produce anti-inquisitorial violence. To the spectators, this burning seemed to be the persecution of a martyr rather than the extension of divine judgment. The problem raised by the supernatural rescues was solved only when the inquisitor made immediate and concrete to the crowd who was guilty, and also who was the true judge and punisher behind a heretic's earthly execution. Brandishing a consecrated host he had secretly brought to the execution site, the inquisitor, evoking some common biblical imagery, begged "Lord Jesus Christ, you who commanded [us] to gather the tares and cast them into the fire . . . show your power over this member of the devil." When the heretic was then returned to the fire and repeated his call for divine aid, a demon responded that he was now powerless. God's judgment could be fulfilled without hindrance: "the flame rising up again, the heretic was burned."⁶³

This *exemplum* is yet another example of how the technical distance between inquisitor and execution utterly dissolved in practice and even in common discourse; the crowd clearly saw the inquisitor (and not secular authority) as the responsible party, and the tale's author seems to have agreed, or at least saw no reason to claim any distinction. This account made some obvious and familiar points; it countered heretics' denial of eucharistic power and devotion through a host-miracle and addressed the problem of discernment by showing the true identity of the heretic's "god." It positioned inquisition as holy by alluding to its supposed biblical foundation through the reference to the wheat and the tares, and by recalling the sacerdotal power of the inquisitor who furnished the consecrated host. But most important, this miracle also demonstrated how divine justice was localized on earth, via the supernatural force of the host, to assist the inquisition that served that justice. The tale argued that Christ, through his presence in the consecrated host, not

only permitted, but himself effected, the execution of this diabolical heretic. Burning by an inquisitor was an earthly strike in God's battle against Satan: here the "member of the devil" wanted to save the heretic on earth, while "Lord Jesus Christ" sought to kill him. Inquisitorial justice was God's own justice, the destruction of one who rejected and opposed him. It is not clear whence Jean derived this *exemplum*; it was the only tale in *Scala coeli* with a specific provenance of Toulouse, and Jean neither ascribed it to a particular author nor introduced it with the common *dicitur* or *audivi*. Alternate versions of this tale had appeared in earlier *exempla* collections, but concerned neither inquisition nor discernment. In some versions the help was given by demons without any pretense that it was divine; in one the burning was a voluntary trial by fire; in another the heretic was saved by conversion.⁶⁴ Jean's account resembles Caesarius of Heisterbach's early thirteenth-century tale, noted above, of the heretics drowned by the host thrown into the river. Yet a century later, such divine intervention spurred and assisted a violence that was already happening on earth, a death formally executed with the motive force of an inquisitor-priest. Secular authority was invisible here. Divine power was not the sole vehicle for heretics' violent punishment; it instead cooperated with and enforced the earthly violence of inquisition that, had not the heretic appealed to the devil's supernatural power, could have accomplished the holy task on its own. In this sense, Jean Gobi's chapter on heresy spoke more aggressively than Étienne de Bourbon, whose God surrounded inquisitorial burning, but did not himself perform it.

Again, these *exempla* betray real tensions between inquisitors on the one hand, and on the other those spectators who read the execution of individual heretics as contrary to, rather than the fulfillment of, God's will. The persistent difficulty of discerning correctly among "true" and "false" Christians arose with more profound consequences when the execution of an apparently pious heretic could elevate him to a martyr in the eyes of the laity. We have already seen the care that inquisitors took in preaching and interrogations to instruct the laity on proper discernment. These *exempla* for preaching sought to alleviate such tensions by simultaneously acknowledging and solving the problem through the presence of God, who could never be fooled, demonstrating his power to identify indisputably. But these accounts also asserted a more ambitious point. If the tension over the "true faith" visible through the narrative, which the *exemplum* itself sought to assuage, was eased in the tales by the concretization of divine judgment on earth, the solutions emphasized God's par-

ticipation in earthly inquisitorial violence. Execution was sacralized, fit into and defined by this component of a tradition of God's violence against apostates. Biblical killing agents like Moses and Peter were reassuring exemplars, but (as we saw with Na Prous) fragile and contentious. Miracles argued that God inserted himself within inquisitorial violence in ways that resolved, rather than encouraged, confusion over "true Christianity." And through their deployment in preaching, these themes of fear, discernment, punishment, and justice were transmitted, however successfully, to the laity. One might object that churchmen themselves kept their intellectual distance from *exempla* and miracle tales that strain credulity, positing that the tales were offered to a gullible public for purposes of order or instruction. But there is little reason prescriptively to ascribe to them such skepticism. It is not only that such an argument must infer from silence; we also cannot presume that churchmen placed such limits on manifestations of God's power. To do so is to deny their faith in an extravagant vision of a punitive afterlife, which presented God as an object of fear and by which inquisitorial violence was sacralized. The alliance between God and inquisitor presented through *exempla* was even more ponderous because God was a fearful imposer of eternal violence, torment, and suffering upon sinners. His participation in miracles was only a midpoint between the earthly burning of inquisition and the eternal burning of hell.

The Second Death of Fire

In his history of the Albigensian Crusade, Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay recounted a "miraculous" incident he witnessed in 1209, at the crusaders' seizure of Castres. A *perfectus* and a junior *credens* were brought before Simon of Montfort, leader of the Catholic forces, who condemned them to the stake to be burnt. The *credens*, "touched internally with a grief of the heart," quickly promised to abjure heresy and to "obey" the Roman church. The result of this supposedly contrite appeal was, as Pierre wrote later, "a grand altercation among us," as some of Montfort's entourage argued against the execution, while others, more suspicious, still favored it, "because it was thought that he promised . . . rather from fear of imminent death than love of observing the Christian religion." Montfort decided to execute the putative penitent "with this intention, that if he was truly worn down, the fire would expiate his sins, but if he spoke falsely, he would receive punishment for his perfidy." When

the *credens* was asked at the stake in which faith he wished to die, he named that of Rome, “praying that this fire may be as purgatory for me.” When the fire was kindled, the impenitent *perfectus* was immediately burned, yet the chains of the contrite *credens* burst and “he left the fire so unharmed that no trace of burning appeared on him” (except, as Pierre anticlimactically conceded, “his fingertips were a little bit scorched”).⁶⁵

The *topos* of the righteous (book, person) saved from fire in divine-discernment-through-miracle is familiar to us. We have seen the two versions of Dominic’s “miracle of the book,” and Pierre’s story of the saved *credens* is the neat inversion of Jean Gobi’s fire-tale above. All show the imaginative persistence of a kind of ordeal, translated to the variable circumstances of the fight against heresy. But as we saw with Humbert’s adoption of the Montréal rather than Fanjeaux version of the miracle of the book, fallible human judgment or ambiguities in disputation and ordeal was eventually lost in favor of a definitive miracle wickedly rejected by heretics. Similarly, in 1209, churchmen and secular authorities could confusedly allow the possibility of dissonance between earthly ecclesiastical punishment and the divine condemnation of heretics, rationalizing the execution of a contrite penitent as an expiatory purgative. By 1331, after roughly a century of both the regularization of inquisitorial practice and consonant pondering of its Christian character and foundations—after a century of dissent and contestation—we see among Dominican inquisitors a stricter alignment between earthly and divine judgment in execution. There developed a dependable congruity and continuity between the terrestrial death of inquisitorial execution and the “second death” of eternal damnation.⁶⁶ Burning at the stake was undoubtedly instructive for spectators about the earthly dangers of “contumaciously” deviating from the Roman church.⁶⁷ However, inquisitors argued for a weightier lesson. The pain of burning was a form of traditional divine scourging on earth (like, say, the death of Israel’s idolaters or that *pessimus hereticus* above), but it also foreshadowed and prefaced the eternal suffering inflicted by God upon those who willingly rejected his truth and order. As Moneta of Cremona asserted bluntly: “[God] seizes the wicked in this world, and at the end he will damn the obstinate.”⁶⁸ This alignment was obviously related to contestation about the death penalty; if execution seemed awful, damnation was worse; those burned by inquisitors were condemned by God in the most terrible manifestation of “binding and loosing.” But it also interrelated with

another trend beyond inquisition. Jacques Le Goff has argued that the Order of Preachers was particularly influential in shaping a “Christianity of fear,” consolidating the doctrine of purgatory in the thirteenth century and “infernalizing” that previously more ambiguous and neutral middle ground by vivid description of its punishments and torments, associated and conflated with those of hell.⁶⁹ This otherworldly landscape of terror and violence was then both traditional in Christian imagery and theology and, as Le Goff argues, newly aggrandized and worsened precisely when inquisitorial theory and practice were evolving, an evolution in which Dominicans were also dominant. Dominicans were key architects of this “Christianity of fear” by mapping the terrifying spaces of hell and purgatory, and also by crafting through texts concerning inquisition an image of God as angry punisher of apostates on earth and in that fearful beyond. By aligning these forms of judgment and warning of damnation, inquisitors and colleagues located the death penalty within a Christian spiritual geography of brutal penalty that was to tint and define it religiously.

Étienne de Bourbon, inquisitor and *exempla*-collector, was instrumental in establishing this “Christianity of fear.”⁷⁰ We saw above that his collection included several tales concerning inquisition and the execution of heretics, demonstrating God’s disclosing power of the wickedness of heresy while reminding the reader that the present furnished its own painful punishment for sin. But in Étienne’s collection, the traditional theme of discernment was teamed with a heightened emphasis on fear of the divine, generated by the inescapable horror of God’s transcendent community, the vividness of the afterlife’s horrific brutality, the creative violence of chastisement. Étienne announced in the prologue to *Tractatus de diversiis materiis praedicabilibus* that he had compiled it so that people “might fear and beware of future evils” and consequently “fall back from their sins and seek the good.”⁷¹ His very first book was on the “gift” of fear, of which God, hell, purgatory, future judgment, death, and sin were fitting objects. In particular, humans needed to fear the afterlife and what God would deal to them there. To Étienne, hell was a terrifying site of the most ingenious and eternal suffering, replete with darkness, stink, foul creatures, flames, screams, and searing pain, with the individual’s punishment designed to be a horribly apt response to his human sins on earth. Among the many rhyming verses that the inquisitor included in his collection to summarize lessons, likely for mnemonic purposes, was one on the “diversity” of hell’s suffering:

Worm, wintry cold, fire, stench are to be given to the wicked,
 Chains, whips, thirst, darkness, fear, and evils to the befouled,
 Prison, torturers, weeping, shame and pains.⁷²

Étienne recounted many examples of the endless torment of the damned in this place of fierce (and divinely approved) brutality and violence: an adulterous couple thrown by demons into a fiery copper pot, where “they were burned and bathed as in boiling metal”; a man “prostrate in . . . flames” with a tree protruding from his stomach, from the branches of which men hung, who were themselves “tortured most bitterly and in diverse ways” by fire. The stinking, fetid bodies of the damned lay in the lake of God’s anger, “where all the unclean and their dirt are gathered.” The suffering of the damned was only increased by their painful awareness of the inescapability and eternity of their suffering, their recognition that they had incurred it themselves by their actions on earth, and that it was punishment strictly for punishment’s sake, “worth nothing.”⁷³

Le Goff observed especially how Étienne de Bourbon’s *exempla* collection contributed to the “infernalization” of purgatory; in his discussion, Étienne expanded the boundaries of the eternal landscape of fear. Although purgatory, unlike hell, was productive in making satisfaction for sin, it was also to be feared for the “bitterness, diversity, long duration [or, “daily-ness”], sterility, injuriousness, and quality of [torturers]” and “paucity of assistance” of its punishment. Purgatory was then not greatly to be preferred to hell; while the purgative fire may not be eternal, Étienne admonished, it still “exceeds all punishment that anyone ever suffered in this life.” As Le Goff noted, Étienne reminded his reader in his description of purgatory’s quality of torments that he had already “sufficiently” covered such matters above when describing hell.⁷⁴ Étienne not only drew together purgatory and hell in quality and degree, but also sketched an encompassing image of humans’ relationship with God in which the threat of excruciating (and possibly eternal) “physical” punishment and torment was an important and terrifying aspect of his surpassing dominance and justice. This former inquisitor devoted a book of his *exempla* collection to a raging, furious God as an object of fear, a fear that should be prompted in humans not only by reading scripture, considering the natural world, and wondering at miracles, but also by remembering “the hard rod of God by which the Lord scourges in manifold ways . . . the punishment by which he punishes in the future those who do not fear [him].”⁷⁵ Set against

Étienne's *exempla* on heresy, inquisition, and execution, often from his own experience, this insistence on eternal fear and brutality argued for the inescapability of universal community while implying what followed the burnings he recounted while warning against dying in heresy: a heretic "quickly after his arrest crossed over, through the fire, to hell."⁷⁶ Inquisition might be frightening, but God was more so; proper fear salutarily turned the Christian from sin, and should gloss the "fear" claimed by those who sought to evade inquisitors' reach.

Étienne's collection was the foundation for Humbert of Romans's book of *exempla*, *On the Gift of Fear*, compiled between 1263 and 1277. While Humbert's books on the fear of hell and of purgatory resembled his predecessor's in many ways, Humbert offered a fuller theoretical exposition of the reasons for the terror they should generate in faithful and (more so) unfaithful alike. Humbert particularly illustrates how an *exempla* collection could echo and disseminate publicly a mentality that balanced earthly against infernal cruelty, seeing God himself as violent in his treatment of sinners in the afterlife. To this Dominican master general—so sensitive, as we have seen, that spectators at inquisitorial punishments would judge them as "cruel"—there was no comparison between violent punishments here below and those of the wicked and unrepentant. Hell exceeded any punitive suffering that imperfect humans could devise in time, scope, degree, ingenuity, suitability, and all other qualities. Hell was the eternal "prison" for malefactors, which, "according to holy scripture, has been created from the beginning of the world to punish the evil-doers that divine knowledge foresaw." But it was worse than any mundane prison, as it was "more painful."⁷⁷ Humbert recalled St. Anthony on the demons that tormented him: "their blows had been so cruel that they surpassed all human tortures." In hell, those tortures were incomparably worse. And this torment was only exacerbated by the joy that God would take in the unrepentant's suffering, his laughter at and mockery of the damned, the pleasure all "the residents of heaven" would experience at the just punishment of those who spurned God's truth and order. Everything in hell was cleverly designed to maximize suffering; the "unusual" death of live burial experienced by Dathan, Abiron, and Korah on earth demonstrated that "it is to suffer more that the damned must undergo chastisements to which they are not accustomed." Those who were skeptical about the reality of hell's terror should know that even the "pagans" believed in hell, making those who doubted its horror "more pagan than the pagans."⁷⁸

If hell was useful to inspire fear, so was purgatory. Although Humbert observed that “there are heretics, above all the Waldenses,” who rejected the idea of purgatory, he countered their doubt with scripture and “reason.” How should one weighed down by venial sins who had no opportunity to purify oneself do so, if not in an otherworldly place?⁷⁹ However, this purification was accomplished through equally otherworldly torments, and Humbert admonished those who did not possess sufficient fear of purgatory, with its “hard conditions of chastisements, dreadful aspect of the torturers, [and] lack of consolation.” Like hell, it also featured a bodily pain that dwarfed earthly suffering, and recognition of this should prompt the sinner to greater alacrity in performing an invariably gentler penitential discipline while alive. As Humbert quoted Jacques de Vitry’s *vita* of Marie d’Oignies, a woman who witnessed the conditions of purgatory and returned to earth “afflicted herself so much on earth that she lived in tombs and rolled herself in snow, ice, and fire” in order to avoid purgation there.⁸⁰ To Humbert, the “cruelty” of purgatory was inarguably proven by the Bible, reason, visions, and spectral appearances on earth by those undergoing purgation. Consequently, “those heretics” who rejected the church’s salvific exchange economy, in which the masses, prayers, and offerings of the living could free the dead, as “inventions of clerics to extort money from simple souls,” were themselves cruel. They were like hyenas rummaging in the corpses of the dead, refusing to “come to the aid” of relatives and friends suffering purgative torments. Humbert’s treatise then sketched a universal community of living and dead (the precise lineaments of which heretics rejected) under God’s surpassing and eternal authority, a localized world of consequences for earthly sin that was “cruel” and painfully material. And, as with inquisition itself, “that punishment is sometimes inflicted for very minimal faults.”⁸¹ Recall that Humbert compared harsh, even corporal, penance positively to this afterlife’s brutality: “Since . . . the sinner must support an eternal punishment or a present punishment, who, meditating on the conditions in which these punishments take place, does not prefer to undergo it here rather than there, unless he is crazy?” Recall also that he praised the order’s complice floggings and composed a model sermon for sentencing at which the inquisitor was to explain that although the penances seemed strict and cruel, they “might redound to [the] salvation” of heretics.⁸² Fascinatingly, Humbert’s works generally offered an equation of severity in which the “cruelty” of inquisitors’ controversial punishments was not only a mirage, but was so precisely because those punishments kindly obviated the far greater

cruelty of God himself. Again we see the mapping of universal community in which apostasy was ultimately impossible, in which the imaginable pain and punishment of penance alone could avert the unimaginable punishment inevitably imposed by that community's omnipotent head.

This sense of the afterlife's horror infused inquisitorial theory and practice, as inquisitors plainly asserted a relationship between the earthly death of burning and the eternal death of damnation. Raymond of Peñafort's manual advised that a heretic should conclude his abjuration with the pledge that should he fail in his penance, "may I be found condemned to eternal damnation and with the authors of heresy may I have a portion in the future world."⁸³ Unrepentant heresy, that "worse sin," received its proper portion of suffering. As inquisitor Izarn warned in his poetic debate with Sicart, sinners "for their misdeeds, will undergo the pains of hell that the heart cannot imagine, the mouth describe, the eyes look upon, so painful are they to receive and cruel to endure. These pains, God must impose and assign them to you, heretics, more still than to each devil of hell."⁸⁴ Death by burning both sealed and vividly previewed the fulfillment of such a pledge. A model sentence in the anonymous manual circa 1265 complained that impenitent heretics were insufficiently mindful not only of "the present danger to things and bodies," but also of "the future judgment of God," placing secular punishment in continuity with, and as parallel to, that judgment.⁸⁵ Bernard Gui's letter to Spanish clergy about the Dolcinites, written in 1316, shows that this sense persisted into the early fourteenth century. The captured Dolcino and Marguerite "were by the definitive sentence and judgment of the church judged as heretics and relinquished to secular judgment to be punished with death, and thus they were handed over to the avenging flames, condemned to be burned up by the eternal fire."⁸⁶ As it had mandated and justified execution, the Bible was also applicable in the creation of this continuity. As chronicler Guillaume Pelhisson described the conclusion of an anti-inquisitorial uprising, "Many others, whose names are not written in the book of life, were condemned by those friar inquisitors and by others, their successors; the bodies were burned here, and the souls are tormented in hell." God's violent punishment of rebels led to both the first earthly death and the eternal "second death" in the lake of fire that Revelation promised was the lot of those not written in the "book of life" (Rev. 20:14-15).⁸⁷ In allowing the first death, inquisitors merely acknowledged the reality of the second; conversely, the second validated the first. Distance significantly closed

between the human (potentially faulty) judgment of the inquisitor and the infallible judgment of God.

In this soldering of “first” and “second” deaths, there were again ecclesiastical predecessors. For example, Caesarius of Heisterbach described a host-desecrating heretic, who after being hanged “was cast into the pit of hell.” But what rendered this linkage among Dominicans different was the explicit context of execution via the ecclesiastical office of *inquisitio*, the perceived personal role of churchmen (and their membership in a pastoral order), and resistance over individual unjust executions.⁸⁸ And while we might expect this appeal to hell as an attempted defense to assuage public grumbling, we hear an additional tone in the emphasis on persuasion in inquisitors’ discussions of execution. Both horrified resignation (“their names are not written in the book of life”) and energetic exhortations to return likewise served the fusion of human and divine justice. The terror of hell was also vivid in the desperate, despairing rhetoric that could surround inquisitors’ attempts to convert recalcitrant heretics. As execution ostensibly followed the inquisitor’s conclusion that reparation was impossible, and execution equaled damnation, attempts at persuasion—depicted as a crucial last recourse—are a *topos* in inquisitorial practice throughout this period. The attempt at persuasion, as well as the offer of time for the heretic’s reflection, was mandated by inquisitorial manuals, as in the model sentence included in the anonymous Vat. Lat. 3978 manual (c. 1265), in which the inquisitors noted that “feeling pity with paternal affection and fighting for their salvation with all our heart,” they had given recalcitrant Waldenses “from Saturday until the present day” to deliberate the renunciation of their admitted heresy.⁸⁹ Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis* advised that when heretics were in custody “they are to be instructed and exhorted often, warned that they should be converted from their error and return to the unity of the church.” The inquisitor should not hurry to final judgment, as a heretic’s conversion had two benevolent consequences: he often disclosed valuable information, and his fellow heretics would return “more easily and more perfectly.” Bernard’s formula for the relaxation of an impenitent heretic to the secular arm added that if there were any hope for his conversion, the inquisitor could order that the heretic “be conserved to life.”⁹⁰ There is a dramatic example in Bernard’s sentence of the recalcitrant Étiennette de Proualt in 1308:

Concerning which errors and heresies you were frequently admonished and exhorted by reasons and authorities of holy scripture, and by sweet

words begged in the Lord, both by me the aforesaid inquisitor and vicars, and by many religious of the Preachers and Minors and other orders, and by many other upright men, clerics and laypeople from the town of Toulouse, and even by your relatives, that you should fall back from the aforesaid errors, and with a good and pure heart you return to the holy mother Roman church, outside of which there is no salvation, and that you abandon the detestable sect of heretics that leads souls to damnation and infernal destruction—nor still do you wish to acquiesce, nor to be converted to the catholic faith. Awaited for a long time, still you persevere in the said pertinacity with a hardened heart.⁹¹

Although Na Prous Boneta, sentenced in 1328, had “detracted from the power and authority of the pope, vicar of our lord Jesus Christ” and transgressed against the power of the keys, inquisitors Henri de Chamayo and Pierre Brun had sought to persuade her to abjure, “inhering in the footsteps of him who does not want the death of the sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.”⁹²

And as failure to convert meant the endless torment of eternal damnation, inquisitors still sought to persuade even after the imposition of sentence. Here we see again the argument, made by Étienne de Bourbon, that heretics’ fear of death stripped away their guise of piety, betraying their core awareness that heresy was unchristian. This was a common point in interrogations and manuals, which informed inquisitors that from “fear of death” heretics would not only evade capture, dissemble in interrogations, and feign conversion, but also show themselves as openly afraid at the stake, and profess themselves willing to disavow heresy even “after they have been abandoned and handed over to the secular arm and court, received by the same court, and led to the place of execution.” According to Bernard Gui, such at-the-very-last-moment capitulations and conversions had happened “many times.” One example was Étiennette de Proualt, who on the day after the sentence above, “seeing then the torment of the fire ready for her,” proclaimed herself persuaded by “sound advice” and eager to convert.⁹³ Like Simon of Montfort’s suspicious companions in 1209, Bernard warned that abjurations after a death sentence was imposed should be viewed with skepticism: “such are presumed to return from fear of death, and therefore their conversion is to be considered as suspect or less favorably.” Nevertheless, these tardy returnees were still to be “received by the church to do penance.” In Étiennette’s case, Bernard admitted that she

converted “either falsely, or from the heart, but [if] she said this from fear of death, human judgment cannot determine with certitude.” She was to be imprisoned, “where it may be proved whether her conversion is true or false.”⁹⁴

There was then, as with inquisition’s recuperative, atoning character in imposing penances, a dynamic of transcendent power in this ostensibly pastoral demand for persuasion, which claimed to far exceed the worldly power of the church as earthly institution or social body. It contributed both to inquisition’s arguments of spiritual legitimacy and to the ecclesiastical construction of the inescapable community of God’s jurisdiction. For the insistence upon continued efforts at persuasion—demanded by the belief that execution connoted eternal damnation (and perhaps by Titus 3:10’s and Proverbs 12:7’s implied charge to correct the errant before abandoning hope)—depended upon, and reinforced, the argument that committed heresy was conscious diabolism. Such references to fear and to eventual capitulation proved that those who were indeed burned as recalcitrant or relapsed were done so legitimately in recognition of their damnation (and admission of their falsity). With some irony, the very prominence of persuasion in inquisitorial rhetoric argued for the sincerity and fervor of inquisitors’ belief that burning equaled hell. Death itself was a tool for discerning between true and feigned Christian piety, offering a final opportunity for leading the soul back and asserting especially the fatuity of trying to secede from God’s community. It was then claimed to be the painful final word in an argument about the nature of the Christian faith. The heretic denied the validity of the Roman church by rejecting inquisition’s invitation to return, which is what had translated him to secular authority. But he would discover his error after death, when he learned indubitably how extensive the church’s community truly was.

Continuity and Christian Community

This perceived continuity between the heretic’s earthly and eternal punishment—and thus of transcendent community—was also asserted by inquisitors’ postmortem condemnation of supposed heretics. In Bernard Gui’s register, more heretics were burned dead than alive; 89 punishments of the dead were recorded, most of which were exhumation and burning.⁹⁵ Those testifying in inquisitions were to inform inquisitors about the dead as well as

the living, and the resulting information was to be analyzed and responded to appropriately, although in cases of apparent guilt relatives and friends of the dead were invited to appear and offer exculpatory testimony.⁹⁶ As he would for the living, the inquisitor was to distinguish carefully among the diverse qualities and levels of guilt recognized in the dead, considering the likely sentence were the suspect still alive. Inquisitorial consultations and manuals addressed the many possible permutations of guilt in death: undiscovered heretics who had died in heresy, abjured heretics who had then relapsed and died in heresy, those who had died during a trial, those who had died after sentencing but before the completion of penance.⁹⁷ The most severe penalty for the unrepentant dead was a posthumous version of *animadversio debita*: “condemning him and his memory with proper severity, we determine that his bones, if they can be distinguished from others, are to be exhumed from the ecclesiastical cemetery and at the same time burned in detestation of a crime so impious.”⁹⁸ Guillaume Pelhisson’s *Chronicon* offered a graphic description of the exhumation in 1231 of Galvan, a Waldensian. After a public sermon by Dominican theology master Roland of Cremona in which he announced the heretic’s recent death in Toulouse, the Dominicans, clergy, and “certain” people of the town

went confidently to the house where the said heretic had died, and destroyed it utterly, and made a dung-pit out of it, and they exhumed the said Galvan and took him out of the cemetery of Villeneuve, where he had been buried. In a great procession they dragged his body through the town, and in a public place outside of the town they burned it. This was done to the praise of our lord Jesus Christ and of blessed Dominic, and to the honor of the Roman Catholic church, our mother.⁹⁹

Guillaume was undoubtedly honest in writing that even after Roland’s public sermon—the attempt to impress upon the Toulousan laity the sin of Galvanus, its damnation, and the need to eject him from Christian community of burial—only “certain” of its number participated in the exhumation. There is much evidence that posthumous “executions” were unpopular among the laity, because of the disturbing ease in suspecting and condemning the dead, the companionate difficulty in defending them, and also the accompaniment of this sentence with the confiscation of property and disinheritance of

relatives, which was mandated for sentences of death and perpetual imprisonment and thus applied to these “executions.” The plain fact of molesting and apparently desecrating the resting dead was an obvious factor in its unpopularity.¹⁰⁰ In vivid contrast to Pelhisson’s triumphant account of Galvan’s successful exhumation in 1231 is Arnaud Cathala’s attempted exhumation three years later of the supposed heretic Boissène, buried in the cemetery of St. Estève in Albi. According to Izarn, curé of Dénat, who claimed to be an eyewitness (and was possibly the same Izarn who debated the heretic Sicart) this prompted the town’s citizens, “sons of Belial,” to riot and to attack Arnaud.¹⁰¹ The charge of inquisitors’ shameless fundraising through confiscating the property of dead “heretics” was raised in the protests in southern France circa 1300, and was also common among those examined in Bologna from 1291 to 1310.¹⁰²

Inquisitors, however, could understand postmortem exhumation and “execution” as a completion of earthly inquisitorial justice. For example, when Bernard Gui learned that “in the acts of inquisition it is found” that Bernard de Bellgarde from Vertus had been sentenced to death by inquisitor Pierre de Mulceone, but the sentence was never carried out, he fulfilled it by burning the dead man’s bones.¹⁰³ The Christian meanings formed for inquisitorial punishment rendered this more than a bureaucratic technicality. The guilty heretic had not manifested genuine contrition through repentance; satisfaction through punishment on earth or purgatory was impossible. One who had “damnably died” as an obstinate heretic, without confessing, abjuring heresy, or being absolved was surely being punished elsewhere, and then “should not remain unpunished” here. And the dead heretic, consequently exiled from the Christian community of heaven, must be removed from the Christian community of the dead here as well.¹⁰⁴ Humbert of Romans’s *exempla* collection, explaining why hell existed for all sinners, demonstrates this relationship between punishment and impunity, community on earth and beyond:

God is so just that he leaves nothing unpunished under his power. . . . We see very many great criminals die without repenting and without having been punished on earth; this is then [why] they would be punished elsewhere. . . . The church’s justice places forever certain persons outside of the society of the faithful, by burying them in profane ground, far from others. Why then would not divine justice,

which is greater, not separate forever from the society of the saints certain unworthy souls by placing them in a despicable place?¹⁰⁵

This applied in backward fashion to the “worse sin” of heresy. As God left nothing unpunished, persons dying in heresy were punished in that “despicable place”; therefore the church’s justice raced to catch up, ejecting them from “the society of the faithful” in burial. As the inquisitor Jean Duprat said in a sentence in Carcassonne in 1324, “so detestable and so impious a crime, because of its monstrousness and enormity, should be punished . . . not only in the living but also among the dead.”¹⁰⁶ Even the dead were to be formally “abandoned to divine judgment,” and sentences of the dead likewise asserted that “from the face of the Lord judgment should go forth and our eyes may see justice.”¹⁰⁷ Just as in Humbert’s schema hell could be allegorized with the refusal of Christian burial, inquisition’s removal from Christian burial and punishment by postmortem burning reflected the dead heretic’s existence in hell.

Inquisitors’ exhumation and burning of the dead, extremely controversial at the time, may appear as a particularly cogent example of inquisitorial malfeasance, a pursuit of money and power reaching to the grave, or as didactic propaganda. These punishments certainly offered an impressive display of inquisitorial power that extended through generations. Yet like the punishment of crosses, exhumation is another instance in which we should recast putative spectacle and exclusion in terms of contemporary Christian-ecclesiastical claims of the expansive power of transcendent community. Here again we see churchmen apply and adapt an extant spiritual geography, a prosaic argument commonly made by Roman Christianity, in the circumstances of the fight against heresy. Specifically, we see in postmortem “executions” the application of two related presumptions of the universal community proposed by the church: the sacred community of Christian burial aligns and interpenetrates with the otherworldly community, and the power to bind and loose all sinners reached from earth to heaven. Inquisitors’ earthly power to judge and punish was merely an instrument of, and parallel to, the ever-inescapable and eternal power of the God for whom they worked.¹⁰⁸ These practices repeated, again amid contestation, that Peter’s power to bind and loose applied to all heretics, whether dead or alive. In exhumation, what had been bound in heaven would be bound on earth. It is doubtful that such claims reassured friends and relatives. But resistance to exhumation, perhaps even more

than execution itself, permitted a sublime defense in which inquisitors argued that “in the fruit of inquisition the glorious . . . Lord might appear.”¹⁰⁹

The Seamless Garment

Bernard Gui’s death sentence in 1310 for the “heresiarch” Pierre Autier, offered as a model in *Practica inquisitionis*, illustrates how inquisition’s nodality of earthly and divine justice was announced in practice:

He praises and approves the aforesaid sect with its errors, and he asserts and confesses that he keeps it, saying that he wishes to live and die in it, as from his mouth we often heard with horror. . . . Nor does he wish to fall back from the aforesaid errors, nor to abandon them, nor to believe in the faith of the Roman church in his heart, nor to confess it with his lips, but rather and more disgracefully he disavows it, although by us and by many other good men, religious and lay, he was often warned and invited, and also he was asked by us canonically and peremptorily to retreat from his errors and recognize, believe in his heart, confess with his lips, and serve the true faith of the holy Roman church, all of which he refused, and still refuses, pertinaciously persevering in his perfidy. Therefore, because he, often invited and long awaited, does not want to be converted nor to return to ecclesiastical unity . . . lest as a diseased sheep he further infect the healthy sheep of the Lord’s flock . . . we, having God and the purity of the orthodox faith before our eyes, the sacrosanct gospels of God placed before us, so that our judgment may go forth from the face of God and our eyes may see justice . . . declare the aforesaid to be a manifest heretic, and we relinquish him, as a heretic not wishing to be converted, to the arm and judgment of the secular court.¹¹⁰

The inquisitor’s judgment derived from God’s. Guillaume Pelhisson assured the readers of his *Chronicon* that those citizens of Albi who attacked the inquisitor Arnaud Cathala were eventually pursued by the inquisitor Friar Ferrier, who arrested, imprisoned, and “even burned” many of them, “a work done by the just judgment of God.”¹¹¹ While the inquisitor might seem to abandon his jurisdiction by removing a person from the penitential forum of

inquisition and handing her to the secular arm, ecclesiastical discussions of burning placed it firmly within a divine jurisdiction to which the Roman church was tightly bound. This process of understanding and presenting the execution of heretics as wholly Christian, carried out in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries through various media, sketched a somber history of God's interactions with those who rejected him and his truth. He had long visited death upon them, both through surrogates and directly; after death he consigned them to the most terrifying torments. The execution of recalcitrant heretics was the most recent manifestation of that tradition of divine violence on earth. Execution was also related to, and had to be defined within the context of, the divine violence of chastisement and damnation that was the horrifying lot of all egregious sinners. Dominican inquisitors and their supporters presented then a death penalty that was a manifestation of Christian piety and a proof of the Roman church's status as arm of divine authority. Execution formed part of a structure of justice-through-violence that was chronologically and spatially infinite, and in which God punished those under his control. In this sense, while burning technically occurred outside the penitential forum of an *inquisitio*, it shared and reinforced its assertions about the eternal and inescapable coercion of the individual Christian soul.

This was then a sincere formation of a Christianity of brutal justice, a mix of old and new. Christianity was not, in 1231, lacking an ideology of divine violence or of heretics' punishment. Inquisitors' sacralization of the death penalty was not a promiscuous, conniving rummage for proof texts; churchmen did not limn a terrifying afterlife simply to make inquisition more palatable to the laity. Extant beliefs and texts in the medieval Christian tradition informed this process of re-visioning the "deserved punishment": hell, penalty, eternity, divine violence on earth were all nothing new. The execution of supposedly recalcitrant or relapsed heretics was inexplicable—in our present analysis as well as in medieval religious mentalities—without churchmen's belief in the permanent brutality of hell. And inquisitors did not have to invent biblical tales of God's violence or even contort their exegeses; in the tales they selected for support, the simplest, most literal reading was the most violent. If an inquisitor like Moneta of Cremona subsequently interpreted ostensibly contradictory texts ("turn the other cheek") as supporting violence, he indeed possessed other biblical passages (Phineas, Peter), their interpretation filtered through inquisitorial experience, to establish as hermeneutic foundation. To understand the violent inquisition is, first, to understand the

violent holiness perceptible in the Bible and in Christian tradition. Faced with recalcitrant heresy that could be identified as apostasy or enmity, and with challenges to the legitimacy of the death penalty, inquisitors could seize upon and adapt images of God's terrible punishment that long predated inquisitions. Christians had long argued that the lives of faithful and unfaithful alike did not end in this world, and inquisitors could take up this belief and others, shaping them to fit the precise circumstances of the fight against heresy in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The formation of this sincere inquisitorial Christianity that demanded the execution of willful apostates does not then show the "feeble operation" of religion upon the inquisitorial mind, but rather how the particular strength and nature of its grip could be exercised.¹¹²

It was easier, certainly, to present the penances imposed by inquisitors as God's wish, as they could be placed within a familiar ecclesiastical tradition of penance. To argue the same about the endorsed killing of individual baptized Christians required more connections, more deliberation on how and why God prescribed it. Both Guillaume Pelhissou in 1263 and Bernard Gui in 1310 were well aware that the death penalty was an especially controversial and troubled aspect of the structure of divine and earthly authority supporting (and supported by) inquisition. Their insistence that the heretic was, in effect, sentenced by God himself to a "second," eternal death argued for this surpassing community, defining as a holy duty what, to many, seemed to deny the Roman church's claims to Christian truth and piety. To Dominican inquisitors, only the wicked could reject the church that Christ had instituted through Peter and perpetuated through the pope, and Christ could be found in all of its opinions and actions, even those that heretics claimed to be "unchristlike." And for these Dominicans, Peter and Paul themselves became violent, glossing the capacities of the "apostolic life." It is important to reiterate that this imagery of divine justice was disseminated to a wider audience through conversations, interrogations, public sentences, and sermons. While there is much evidence for its failure, the very contestation that is visible through inquisitorial sources and elsewhere underscores the power and meaning of this vision of divine justice and brutality. This is so not only because that contestation throws into relief the significance and specialness of inquisitors' violent Christianity, but also because of the ways in which that vision confronted, responded to, and even co-opted the contestation. The opposition that clearly arose from the ecclesiastical recourse to the death penalty was

gathered and recycled within this project of sacralizing inquisitorial violence, as a means to reassert the definitions that had been made. The tension that was generated by this new interpretation, and by inquisition itself, was productive for it. Inquisition's contested conversations over heresy, then, again permitted the Roman church new opportunities to define the Christian community and Christ himself. It provided an opportunity to redefine what it meant to be a Christian: in this case, a zealous supporter of the deaths of those who knowingly turned from God.

As in the issues of divine and ecclesiastical power that played themselves out in the public reconciliation and penance of a contrite heretic, this thoughtful construction and presentation of an expressly Christian rationale for executing heretics offered more profound and awesome implications than the motives (control, order) that some might define as narrowly, restrictively "worldly." Inquisitors insisted to the baptized that their failure to subject themselves correctly to the universal community established by God—and he, unlike a human abbot, would always know what was in their hearts—would gain them a punishment that could not end. The vision they cultivated of greater power, greater pain, and greater punishment in a transcendent Christian *ecclesia* was more ambitious than that of any secular prince, as they claimed the church's authority over the body here below, but also over the soul forever. This vision was located in very particular circumstances, in the meeting between the realities of heresy, dissent, and persistent contestation; Christian texts and traditions; and the Roman church's high-medieval ecclesiology. Dominican inquisitors and fellow churchmen who supported heretics' execution demonstrate neither an inherent medieval bloodlust nor an equally mythical "instinctive Christian horror of the death penalty."¹¹³ They instantiate rather the ways in which the very content, as well as practice, of Christianity gained new forms in response to particular situations. But these Dominicans themselves did not argue that the church had changed its mind about killing; rather, they offered a supposedly static vision of a God who appeared in the Bible, in the ecclesiastical past, and in their present, as a killer. They claimed sound reasons to identify inquisitions as an arm of a God whose own "passions were fierce," a God who coerced, tormented, and burned.

Conclusion

THIS BOOK HAS attempted to reconstitute the religious world from which heresy inquisitions arose, and the conceptions of which they in turn influenced, in the later Middle Ages. That religious context arose organically—but not thereby naturally or deterministically—from an extant and antique discourse of good and evil, salvation and sin, true and false faith present from Christianity's origins, and was able to be manufactured from the raw stuff of its texts and traditions. Heresy inquisitions cannot be understood accurately if divorced from the peculiar shape that Christianity's venerable discourse took in medieval western Europe: its cosmography, its salvific architecture and narrative. Christian mentalities of inquisition glossed even what some might argue to be patently “worldly” motivations for repression—politics, envy, money, power—as they distinctively mapped the society in which medieval inquisitions truly took place, according to their architects and practitioners. This book has thus explored the larger significance of Dominicans who arrested, punished, and executed not in spite of their Christian convictions, but rather because of them.

But at the same time, the Christian valences Dominican inquisitors and colleagues granted to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* were not static or inherent, rather responding to the peculiar circumstances of church and faith beginning in the late eleventh century. Ecclesiastical visions of papal monarchy, the church as universal community, negotiations of lay religiosity and autonomy, the mendicant enterprise, and new economies of exterior body and interior soul all interacted with genuine dissent and debate over the nature of the

Christian faith, producing a precisely Christian conception of violent persecution. This was ultimately dependent upon, and animated by, an ideology of God's own discipline, as underlying inquisition's repressive theory and practice was the conviction that God was always, already compelling all humans, to which inquisitors' efforts were weak echo and preface. All human souls were inescapably resident within the surpassing community governed by God and supervised by the pope. The souls and bodies of Christians were brought under a control that was understood and presented as divine and earthly; boundless and timeless; painful but salvific.

We see then in this period the development and increasing sophistication both of *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis* and its companionate, supporting Christian foundations—with attachments to the ecclesiology and theology of previous centuries—as inquisitors and clerics pondered (or defined) the ostensible rise of dissent within the Roman church, and also responded to resistance to the office's claims of justice and piety. We witness precisely the complex interpenetration of foundations in Christian texts and traditions (for example, about “heresy”) combined with an interrogation, selection, and specific interpretation of those authorities, in reponse to new situations in time. This book has then emphasized construction, response, election, and interpretation in the shaping of an inquisitorial Christianity in the high Middle Ages. While inquisition's diverse religious meanings were not isolated from other currents and precedents, we should hearken especially to the moments of working with the raw material of the Christian faith, the choice to take it up, to read it a certain way, and to make specific connections with the present. Texts like John 15:6—“if someone does not abide in me, he is cast out as a branch and dries out; and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they burn”—meant something to some Christians, could be matched with particular developments (here, the church's endorsement of the death penalty) they ostensibly mandated, that they had not before. The experience of inquisition was a lens to interpret the Christian faith, just as an understanding of that faith rendered inquisition a work of Christian piety. Yet the contestation that inquisitions regularly provoked, and to which the formation of those Christian meanings partly responded, shows us the high temperature of this debate about what it meant to be a pious Christian. In inquisition's contested conversations over the nature of Christian faith and obedience, past and present intertwined, as Dominican inquisitors granted their work further and often novel religious meanings in part because of the very obstacles met by

their attempt to chasten faith. The reasoned ease with which sincere faith could calmly compel persecution and violence—just as it simultaneously compels others to compassion and tolerance—offers one of medieval inquisition's most powerful lessons.

This book has not then intended to defend heresy inquisitions by an appeal to static obligations of faith, or to argue that they were “really” religious in an absolute, objective way. And while it denies that Dominican inquisitors and colleagues insincerely dressed Christ in the disguise of a violent persecutor, it also denies that given the explicitly Christian context, meanings, and worldviews surrounding inquisition, we are consequently obliged to excuse or endorse that work. Religious motives do not inherently justify—as opposed to explain—violence, and should not receive an exculpatory privilege over other motives. Yet neither do they have less historical, heuristic cogency than other explanations for persecution. Few modern readers might agree with Moneta of Cremona that heresy inquisitions and executions were a sincerely religious enterprise, the reasonable filtering of Christian text, model, and revelation through the hermeneutic of present “heresy.” The alternative is more likely, as since at least the Enlightenment, the idea of policing an individual's religious belief and practice, the refusal of religious toleration, has generally been abhorrent to the West. Euan Cameron, appraising a cool discussion of England's persecution of heretical Lollards, has stressed that “One cannot forget humanity in pursuit of an argument.”¹ Surely it is an ordeal of its own kind to excavate the religious mentalities of medieval inquisitions, to infuse the office's hard figure with the delicacy of sincere conviction, to confront the Christian piety that celebrates a victory when a “stubborn” heretic who can no longer stand the pain is dragged from the flames, newly “penitent” and half-burned.

Yet to recall that the content and character of a religious faith is unstable, fragile, and contextualized seeks to be one way of withdrawing from the polemical currents surrounding inquisition that reach back to the early modern period (or even to that contestation in the Middle Ages) and that have often drained into scholarship. Medieval inquisition has long presented the risk of inadvertently painting in its treatments a chiaroscuro that evidences its student's own belief, whether it is the apologist who claims inquisitors acted commendably when faced with a dangerous heretical threat, or the post-Enlightenment advocate of toleration who compares medieval persecution detrimentally to an ethics of reasonable, irenic Christianity. If we acknowl-

edge for the Middle Ages both that a diabolic conspiracy of heresy pursuing spiritual sabotage did not exist, and also that sincere inquisitors repressed not from “irrationality” or “paranoia” but from a measured negotiation of authorities, piety, and circumstance, how do we understand persecution while withholding judgment? Eliciting Christianity’s own dynamic of change and diversity (both synchronic and diachronic), in which there is no “real message” on which historians can depend, permits us to disembark this train, with its own historiographical rewards. As many theorists of religion have reminded us, both “religion” and the form and content of individual religions are historically unstable, ripe historical fruit precisely because of their mutability and, perhaps, their strangeness. Caroline Walker Bynum has observed that “what characterizes historians above all else is the capacity to be shocked by the singularity of events in a way that stimulates the search for ‘significance’.”² We must persist in that search for significance, even (or especially) when our shock has been one of horror, rather than one of delight. We must confront the significance, origins, and contexts of a horror that presents itself as faithful to, and engendered by, a vision of human binding to God through Christ, at once dynamically vulnerable and sincerely held. With the historian’s recognition that religious belief neither always produces repression nor never does so, we may examine productively the precise context, reasons, and process by which faith results in repression.

In addition, something else recalls “humanity” to us even as we examine how Dominican inquisitors and supporters steadily built Christian foundations for violence and repression. Lessons about persecution and faith are not just a matter for the past. If we broaden our view beyond the Middle Ages, heresy inquisitions illustrate Robert Orsi’s argument that religious belief is not naturally or necessarily constructive, functional, or unifying. To religious persons, sometimes binding to the divine makes human bonds more frayed, and human experience harder, more abrasive, more intolerable and more intolerant, more violent.³ Sometimes the world here below is forcibly and destructively remade to reflect the perceived image of the universal community to which it belongs, and its perceived demands, constituting an exhaustive hegemony that crushes other kinds. And both the instability of faith, and its potential for piously destructive force, are not restricted to the Middle Ages. Acknowledging that for medieval inquisitors Christian piety could be sincerely interwoven with violence and repression should not teleologically presume that this error eventually ceased, preparing the way for the sound

spirituality of the modern, which will last until the end of days.⁴ One of the most compelling, if unabashedly presentist, arguments in favor of sketching the formation of inquisition's Christian meanings is that religious violence and persecution are not relics from a "barbaric" medieval past. Any study of medieval inquisitions arises within a modern religious world that, despite the legacies of Enlightenment and liberalism, has still not completely embraced nonviolence, tolerance of difference, and respect for individual creeds, with religion as fundamentally a personal matter. While these are values and practices long advocated in the West, they are not necessarily wholly shared (or identically defined) by persons of diverse religious faiths both there and elsewhere.⁵ Long past the Middle Ages, we need not look far to find the marriage of belief and violence in modern religions, the ways in which a perceived obligation to the variously construed divine manifests itself in the restraint of, or harm inflicted upon, the minds and bodies of oneself or others.

This is not to say that heresy inquisitions constitute the origin of a genealogy of religious repression, or that an inquisitor's torture equals modern torture; we have seen how the character and meanings of inquisitorial discipline were explicitly bound to medieval Christianity. Rather, it is a matter of what remains constant and sits beyond time as well as in it: the raw material of authorities, traditions, and revelation that can form a spiritual geography. In, say, the case of Christianity, Jesus still warns that he has come not to bring peace, but a sword. Peter's killing of Ananias and Saphira and Paul's blinding of Elymas remain a part of an authoritative tradition, even if many Christians today would move in the opposite exegetical direction than Moneta of Cremona, interpreting them in the light of more gentle pericopes. No scripture has yet been successfully bounded by the rational purity of a single, stable meaning, no matter how much textual criticism, no matter how insistent one might be about "real messages" of tolerance and peace. Nothing escapes the continuing perception of revelation, the force of impulse, the readiness to omit, to italicize, to gloss the vaunted lessons of the divine in the light of one's passions and convictions. Still there is no consensus on the boundaries and nature of the world, with their ramifications for, and demands upon, human behavior. Still we see the press of circumstance upon text and tradition—and vice versa—in which repression or violence are the resultant, and to believers rational, pulp. Still there is for some a conversation beyond reason, beyond peace, its voices sometimes in murmur and sometimes shouting. Still for some there is the hand raised in praise and the hand raised in violence—itsself de-

fined as praise—against the ostensible violator of God’s law. Still there is the grammar of pain in which the history of religion is so often written, a pain that historians cannot dismiss as false unless we ourselves become like a medieval inquisitor: zealous master of discernment between true and feigned faiths, and teacher of lessons with precisely one—ostensibly natural, in truth reflective—vision of the binding between human and divine.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACG</i>	B. M. Reichert, ed., <i>Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum</i> , 9 vols. (Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1898–1904)
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , 68 vols. (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1863–1870)
<i>ASOB</i>	Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli, eds., <i>Acta sancti officii Bononie ab anno 1291 usque ad annum 1310</i> , 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1982–1984)
<i>BOP</i>	Thomas Ripoll and Antonin Brémond, eds., <i>Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum</i> , 8 vols. (Paris: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729–1740)
<i>CF</i>	Cahiers de Fanjeaux
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CIC</i>	Emil Friedberg, ed., <i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig: Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1879–1881)
<i>De quatuor</i>	Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui, <i>De quatuor in quibus deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit</i> , ed.

	Thomas Kaeppli, MOPH 22 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1949)
Doat	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds Doat, vols. 21–37
<i>Doctrina</i>	<i>Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos</i> , in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., <i>Thesaurus novus anecdotorum</i> , vol. 5 (Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717), 1795–1822
ÉdB, <i>Tractatus</i> (1877)	Étienne de Bourbon, <i>Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus. Anecdotes historiques tirés d'Étienne de Bourbon</i> , ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, 1877)
ÉdB, <i>Tractatus</i> (2002)	Étienne de Bourbon, <i>Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus: Prologus, prima pars De Dono Timoris</i> , ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)
Gui, <i>Practica</i>	Bernard Gui, <i>Practica inquisitionis hereticae pravitatis</i> , ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: A. Picard, 1886)
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Lea, <i>HistInq</i>	Henry Charles Lea, <i>A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages</i> , 3 vols. (New York: Harbor Press, 1887)
Moore, <i>Formation</i>	R. I. Moore, <i>The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)
MOPH	Monumenta ordinis praedicatorum historica
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire”	Célestin Douais, “Saint Raymond de

- SOP* Peñafort et les hérétiques. Directoire à l'usage des inquisiteurs aragonais, 1242," *Le Moyen Âge* 12 (1899): 305–25
- Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1970–1993)
- Vat. Lat. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codici Vaticani Latini
- Vitae fratrum* Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert (Louvain: E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896)

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, ed. T. A. Ricchini (Rome, 1743, repr. Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1964), 510. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own, and Biblical translations, citations, and Psalm numeration are from the Vulgate. In the interest of economy, the original text of translated passages appears in the footnotes only when the source is unpublished.

2. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 373.

3. For a capsule of this cosmography, see John Gilchrist, "The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198–1216)," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 65–83.

4. Recent summary of this scholarship is in Jean-Louis Biget, "L'Inquisition en Languedoc 1229–1329," in *L'inquisizione*, ed. Agostino Borromeo (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003), 42–47, and John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 23–29.

5. For the legal foundations and development of *inquisitio*, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 11–67; Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses," *CH* 58 (1989): 439–51; for *inquisitio veritatis* before the papal pronouncement *Ad abolendam*, Lotte Kéry, "Inquisitio-denunciatio-exceptio: Möglichkeiten der Verfahrenseinleitung im Dekretalen-recht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 87 (2001): 226–68. Although this method was not restricted to heresy, in this book "inquisition" refers to *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*.

6. Including Fourth Lateran's *Qualiter et quando* (1215); Antonius García y García, ed., *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), 54–57. Richard M. Fraher, "IV Lateran's Revolution

in Criminal Procedure: The Birth of *Inquisitio*, the End of Ordeals, and Innocent III's Vision of Ecclesiastical Politics," in *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinalis Alphonsi M. Stickler*, ed. Rosalio Castillo Lara (Rome: LAS, 1992), 97–III.

7. James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

8. Cf. Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 10, 14, 351.

9. Cf. Laurent Albaret, "Les Prêcheurs et l'Inquisition," in *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, CF 36 (Toulouse: Privat, 2001), 319–41. The possibility that Humbert of Romans's citation of *inquisitiones* among *officia odiosa* impeding Dominican care of souls indicates the order's disapproval of heresy inquisitions was denied by Yves Dossat, who proved that those *inquisitiones* were royal inquests. Humbert of Romans, *Expositio in constitutiones*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier (Rome, 1889, repr. Turin: Marietti, 1956), 2: 36. Yves Dossat, "Inquisiteurs ou enquêteurs? À propos d'un texte d'Humbert de Romans," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715), année 1957* (1958): 105–13. Elliott cites a formula in Bernard Gui's *Practica* to argue that clerical opposition "was by no means uncommon." Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 173. While Elliott is correct that this model was based on an actual case, there is no internal evidence to indicate that the suspect was a Dominican, as she states. Moreover, the original friar was Franciscan anti-inquisitorial activist Bernard Délicieux; Bernard's formula is a copy of his sentence in 1319, with details specific to the case omitted. Gui, *Practica*, III–15; Alan Friedlander, ed., *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Delicieux, 3 September–8 December 1319* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996), 204–12.

10. Yves Dossat, "La répression de l'hérésie par les évêques," *Le Crédo, la morale, et l'inquisition*, CF 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971), 217–51. On the Cistercians, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Rochester, N.Y.: York Medieval Press, 2001).

11. On Franciscan inquisitors, see Holly Grieco, "A Dilemma of Obedience and Authority: The Franciscan Inquisition and Franciscan Inquisitors in Provence, 1235–1340" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004).

12. James Fearn, ed., *Ketzer und Ketzerbekämpfung im Hochmittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1968), 73–75. On commissions in northern France, *BOP* 1: 45–46, 66–67, 80–81; Italy, *BOP* 1: 41, 79, 81, 95; Aragon, *BOP* 1: 38; Bohemia, Poland, and Greece, *BOP* 2: 138–40, 143–44.

13. Fulk of Toulouse's episcopal charter approving the young preaching movement in 1215 thus described its tasks: "ad extirpandam hereticam pravitatem et vitia expellenda et fidei regulam edocendam et homines sanis moribus imbuendos." Vladimir J. Koudelka, ed., *Monumenta diplomatica sancti Dominici* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1966), 57. Honorius III's confirming bull *Religiosam vitam* is in *BOP* 1: 2,

4. This appears in the prologue added to the order's Customary in 1220; A. H. Thomas, *De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen* (Leuven: Bureel van de R.H.E., 1965), 311.

14. Helmut Walther's appeal in 1993 for research on the Dominican order and inquisition has begun to be addressed. Helmut G. Walther, "Ziele und Mittel päpstlicher Ketzerpolitik in der Lombardei und im Kirchenstaat 1184–1252," in *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Segl (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993): 123 n. 48. See Pascal Epinoux, "Une réponse à l'hérésie: Dominique et les Dominicains," in *Le Pays cathare: Les religions médiévales et leurs expressions méridionales*, ed. Jacques Berlioz (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000): 101–21; Albaret, "Les Prêcheurs et l'Inquisition" and "*Inquisitio heretice pravitatis*. L'Inquisition dominicaine dans le Midi de la France au XIIIe et XIVe siècles ou la première inquisition pontificale," in *Praedicatores, inquisitores, I, The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition: Acts of the First International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition, 23–25 February 2002*, ed. Wolfram Hoyer (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 2004), 420–46; Edward Peters, "*Quoniam abundavit iniquitas*: Dominicans as Inquisitors, Inquisitors as Dominicans," *Catholic Historical Review* 91 (2005): 105–21.

15. Cf. R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 130.

16. Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002), 261.

17. Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993).

18. For a recent example of the common argument that theological expertise particularly qualified Dominicans to be inquisitors, Biget, "L'inquisition en Languedoc," 58.

19. X: 5.7.9, *CIC* 2: 780–82. Gui, *Practica*, 237.

20. For orientation, see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). For a pioneering untangling, see Robert Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972). Monique Zerner, ed., *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition* (Nice: Université de Nice Sophia-Antipolis, 1998); Mark Gregory Pegg's *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001) successfully demolished the "Cathar church," while Peter Biller skeptically surveys deconstructions of Waldensianism in "Goodbye to Waldensianism?" *P&P* 192 (2006): 3–33. In their present form, arguments about constructions of heresy have clear kinship with the work of R. I. Moore, for whom persecution led to "heresy" and not the reverse, and of Gavin Langmuir on fantasy. R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 142–43; Gavin Langmuir, *History, Religion,*

and *Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). See, however, the critique of deconstruction in Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 21–23.

21. Cf. Karen Sullivan, *Truth and the Heretic: Crises of Knowledge in Medieval French Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

22. On these categories, see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 38–44, which views their development through a Foucauldian lens: they signal a construction of “transgressive identities” rather than attention to discrete acts. Inquisition became “a process of gathering, interrogating, noting, collating and naming. The motive force . . . was the desire to represent heresy; to control and order and communicate the meaning of transgression,” 56.

23. Stereotypes of orgies, incest, and infanticide perceptible in eleventh- and twelfth-century polemic generally do not appear in practical inquisitorial texts. Cf. Biget, “L’inquisition en Languedoc,” 45 n. 7, 67–68. For a nuanced view of an exception, see Peter Biller, “Bernard Gui, Sex, and Luciferanism,” in Hoyer, *Praedicatores, inquisitores*, 455–70.

24. This agrees with Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 101, but with different conclusions. See Chapter 4.

25. Gui, *Practica*, 34–35, 39–40, 49–50, 67–71, 237, 288–92, 299–300. Inquisitorial jurisdiction over converts to Judaism and converts to Christianity who had relapsed was imposed by Clement IV’s *Turbato corde* (1267). *Relapsi* do not often appear in trial transcripts, but a well-known example is the testimony of Baruch in Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le Registre d’Inquisition de Jacques Fournier* (Toulouse: Privat, 1965), 177–90. See Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), especially 44–50, 77–99; Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, “The Inquisition and the Jews in France in the Time of Bernard Gui,” *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970): 317–76; Johannes Vincke, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Spanischen Inquisition: Die Inquisition in Aragon, Katalonien, Mallorca und Valencia während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1941), 58–79.

26. Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic: The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

27. Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1953), 136; Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 14; Lea, *HistInq* 3: 492–549.

28. Scholars of inquisition have proposed various phasic models of its legislation and practice during its rough first century of existence; one example is Andrew Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition in Languedoc,” *JEH* 52 (2001): 409–33. See discussion in Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 33–34, with warnings against too-sharp transformative distinctions.

29. Moore, *Formation*, 2.

30. Moore surveys responses to his work in *Formation*, 172–96; on his sensitivity to a flattening of his argument, 170.

31. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977). On the dominance in their generation's historiography of a "dark, persecutory vision of medieval society" and the influence of Foucault, see Paul Freedman and Gabrielle Spiegel, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *AHR* 103 (1998): 677–704. A scholar's contention that "tolerance" was "the real message of Christianity" appears in Constance Hoffman Berman, ed., *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 50. Moore's *Formation* was itself influenced by anthropology, most obviously Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966). For psychology, see particularly Langmuir's *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*. To Langmuir, doubt arises when nonrational thinking (e.g., a particular religious belief) conflicts with rational and empirical thinking, and this may result in irrationality (fantasies imputed to religious others) when one cannot, or refuses to, appropriately deploy rationality to solve the original conflict (see, e.g., 257–59). The result is "acute psychological stress" (260) that drove religious persecution. To Richard Landes, the "inquisitorial nightmare" resulted from "the authoritarian and paranoid abreactions of an apocalyptically insecure leadership . . . threatened by the advance of a culture that clipped their wings." Richard Landes, "The Birth of Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon," *Journal of Religious History* 24 (2000): 41, citing Moore's *Formation*. For a more nuanced view of inquisitors' "paranoia," Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 53, 97. Note the differences here with an older argument that saw *inquisitio* itself as more "rational" and therefore "modern" than *accusatio* and ordeal. Fraher, "IV Lateran's Revolution," 97–99; Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 83–124.

32. "Invocation of Michel Foucault on the dynamics of power is rarely more appropriate than in study of inquisitorial repression," Richard Kieckhefer, "Review of James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*," *JEH* 53 (2002): 149. James Given has used the office as a glimpse into methods of political authority, governance, and control; with their sophisticated (if challenged and often unsuccessful) use of records, torture, imprisonment, and the exploitation of social bonds, inquisitions were a rough, partial prototype of Foucault's normalizing modern discipline. James B. Given, "The Inquisitors of Languedoc and the Medieval Technology of Power," *AHR* 94 (1989): 336–59; "Social Stress, Social Strain, and the Inquisitors of Medieval Languedoc," in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, ed. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 67–85; and *Inquisition and Medieval Society*. Likewise influenced by Foucault is Arnold's *Inquisition and Power*, which analyzes the inquisitorial discourse of power both fashioned and reflected in trial transcripts, in pursuit of the voices of the deponents.

33. For Andrew Roach, studying the period before 1250, inquisitors' original interests in penance as a tool to eliminate heresy disintegrated, positioning inquisition as the "permanent police force of doctrinal orthodoxy," with "parallels with twentieth-century

security organisations” like the Soviet Cheka. Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition,” 431–33.

34. Carol Lansing, while eliciting shades of religious belief among the laity that were neither strictly “Cathar” nor “Catholic,” has located debates over heresy as a constituent part of social, political, and gender-role shifts that precipitated “the establishment of a political and institutional order.” Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5. Dyan Elliott’s analysis of how “inquisitorial culture” (an ecclesiastical dependence upon forms of proof such as investigation, interrogation, and confession) widely permeated ecclesiastical life in the later Middle Ages is chiefly interested in its restrictive and deleterious effects on women’s spirituality and religious status. Elliott identifies this new reliance on proof as a response to “intense social and cultural upheavals.” Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 297.

35. Moore, *Formation*, 3. Moreover, the dominant approach to inquisition that immediately preceded Moore-ethnographies of lay belief ostensibly perceptible through inquisitors’ accounts-focused on the targets of inquisitorial activity rather than its agents. See most famously Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Braziller, 1978) and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children Since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

36. Foucault distinguished the “modern soul” generated by, and the “instrument” of, modern technologies of punishment from “the soul represented by Christian theology.” Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 29–30. For the variable uses of *persequor* regarding inquisition, see Gui, *Practica*, 282–83; Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique (1229–1244): Suivie du Récit des troubles d’Albi (1234)*, ed. Jean Duvernoy (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1994), 48; Pierre Botineau, ed., “Les tribulations de Raymond Barrau, O.P. (1295–1338),” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire, Ecole française de Rome* 77 (1965): 504–5. On the moral ambivalence of “persecution,” as in the spiritual valence of coercion generally, Augustine was a precedent: “Si semper esset laudabile persecutionem pati, sufficeret domino dicere: *Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur*, nec adderet *propter justiciam* [Matthew 5:10]. Item si semper esset culpabile persecutionem facere, non scriptum esset in sanctis libris: *Detrahentem proximo suo occulte hunc persequer* [Psalm 100:5]. Aliquando ergo et qui eam patitur iniustus est, et qui eam facit iustus est. Sed plane semper et mali persecuti sunt bonos et boni persecuti sunt malos, illi nocendo per iniustitiam, illi consulendo per disciplinam . . . illi servientes cupiditati, illi caritati.” Augustine, *Epistula* 93, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Epistolae LVI–C*, ed. K. D. Daur, CCSL 31A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 172.

37. Peter Biller’s recent observation that Bernard Gui may seem “repellent” to us indicates his awareness of post-Enlightenment antipathy to intolerance, and also the historiographical difficulty of defining medieval inquisitions as a manifestation of Christian belief. Biller, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?” 21.

38. Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*, 257. Robert Orsi has criticized modern religious studies for a “modernist impulse” that strips religious agency from its

subjects, crediting religion to “social class . . . or the unconscious, the social or the psychological.” Similarly, Orsi observes scholars’ “pathologizing” of “unacceptable forms of” religiosity, or those that defy a progressive pursuit of rationality and peace. Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 160, 186–87, 191.

39. For a famous example, see Caroline Walker Bynum’s rereading of bodily mortification in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

40. Cf. Biget, “L’inquisition en Languedoc,” 76–80. Iogna-Prat terms his survey of Cluniac anthropology a “social history”; Christendom is “a social order coterminous with the Church.” Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 4, 23, 70, 152.

41. See the critique by Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 6–7. Cf. Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001) on the applicability to medieval Christianity of anthropological theories of religion and ritual.

42. On Christian historians’ difficulty of balancing historical change and relationship with diverse contexts with a believed transhistorical essence of their faith, see Euan Cameron, *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Churches’ Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

43. Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 439–40; Richard Kieckhefer, *The Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 3–8; Peters, *Inquisition*, 1–4, 67–71.

44. Richard Kieckhefer, “The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction,” *JEH* 46 (1995): 36–61.

45. On consultations, see Antoine Dondaine, “Le Manuel de l’inquisiteur (1230–1330),” *AFP* 17 (1947): 89–90. I have used the seven consultations addressed to Dominicans between 1235 and 1261: those by William of Valence; Jean de Bernin; Archbishop Pierre Amiel and the Council of Narbonne; the Council of Béziers; Pierre de Collemieu; and two by Gui de Folques, future Pope Clement IV. Inquisitors’ manuals with identifiably Dominican provenance compiled between 1231 and 1331 are the following: one based on consultations of Raymond of Peñafort, referred to here as *Directoire* (1241–1242); Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre’s *Processus inquisitionis* (1248–1249); the anonymous manual in Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 17r–38r (likely southern France, c.1265); the anonymous *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* (Carcassonne, c.1280); the anonymous *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis* (perhaps Lombardy, 1280–c.1290); the anonymous *Libellus*, included in Vat. Lat. 2648, fols. 34r–55r (northern Italy, c.1305); Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis hereticae pravitatis* (c.1323); and the anonymous *De officio inquisitionis* (Lombardy, c.1320–1325).

46. François Sanjek, “Raynerius Sacconi O.P., *Summa de catharis*,” *AFP* 44 (1974): 31–60; Antoine Dondaine, “La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, II: Le *Tractatus de hereticis* d’Anselme d’Alexandrie O.P.,” *AFP* 20 (1950): 234–324; Thomas Kaeppli, “Une somme

contre les hérétiques de s. Pierre Martyr (?),” *AFP* 17 (1947): 295–335; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*. See Chapter 1.

47. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, eds., *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2003). Arnold’s interests then replicate the oppositional polarity maintained by historians like Ladurie and Schmitt, despite his discomfort with their unproblematic “excavation” of lay belief. If to Schmitt the inquisitorial encounter is an opposition of different “cultural logics,” to Arnold it is one way “in which the medieval subaltern was viewed by the elite.” Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 23, 122–23. Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Religion, Folklore, and Society in the Medieval West,” in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998): 377.

48. Quoted in Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: A Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 280.

49. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 12–13.

CHAPTER 1. THE WOLVES AND THE SHEEP

1. *ASOB* 2: 589.

2. Jean Gobi, *La Scala coeli de Jean Gobi*, ed. Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 409.

3. Biget, “L’inquisition en Languedoc,” 42–50; R. I. Moore, ed., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), and *The Origins of European Dissent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); helpful sketch in Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 23–33, with particular attention to shifting emphasis in discourse from “heresiarchs” to lay individuals.

4. Biget’s sketch of the twelfth century adopts a sensible middle ground: genuine dissent (using orthodox sources of authority) was transmuted by clerics into an image of heresy “très décalée de la réalité,” but “heresy” was neither manufactured capriciously *ex nihilo* nor an organized saboteur of the Roman church. Biget, “L’inquisition en Languedoc,” 44–45.

5. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons sur le Cantique IV* (51–68), ed. Paul Verdeyen and Raffaele Fassetta (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003), 316–67; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 82–90.

6. Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos hereticos*, ed. James Fearn (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 3. On this text, Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 99–261.

7. Mark Gregory Pegg, “Review of Salvo Burci, *Liber suprastella*, and Carola Hoécker, ed., *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hereticum*,” *Speculum* 80 (2005): 201. Bonacursus, *Vita hereticorum*, PL 204, cols. 775–92; Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, PL 210, cols. 305–430; Raoul Manselli, ed., *Una “Summa auctoritatum” antiereticale (Ms. 47 della Biblioteca Municipale di Albi)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1985); Carola

Hoécker, ed., *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum: Die Auseinandersetzung der katholischen Kirche mit den italienischen Katharern im Spiegel einer kontroverstheologischen Streitschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001); Durand of Huesca, *Une somme anti-cathare: Le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. Christine Thouzellier (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 1964); Salvo Burci, *Liber suprastella*, ed. Catarina Bruschi (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2002). Borst, *Die Katharer*, 6–13.

8. X: 5.7.10, *CIC* 2:782–83.

9. Circa 1045, Bishop Wazo of Liège's well-known response to Roger II, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, who was concerned over "peasants who followed the perverse teachings of the Manichees," asserted that the parable demanded tolerance. Moore, ed., *Birth of Popular Heresy*, 21–23. On the "liberal implications" of this passage, see Roland Herbert Bainton, "The Parable of the Tares as the Proof Text for Religious Liberty to the End of the Sixteenth Century," *CH* 1 (1932): 67–89. A recent translation indeed makes that choice, glossing the passage as "God allows good and evil to exist together until the close of human history." *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (RSV) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). On Bernard of Clairvaux's sermon on the wheat and the tares in Albi in 1145, Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, 100–101.

10. On discernment of spirits, see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 250–96; Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003).

11. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 215.

12. Cf. Arnold on inquisition as "namer" of heresy in classic Foucauldian manner: *Inquisition and Power*, 19–47, 56, 90.

13. Antoine Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr: Études," *AFP* 23 (1953): 70–71; G. Meersseman, "La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIIIe siècle," *AFP* 18 (1948): 135–36, 145–46. Kaeppli, "Une somme," 295–335. For a thorough reconstruction of Peter's life and afterlife, see Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona* († 1252) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

14. Galvano Fiamma, *Chronica maior ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, in Gundisalvo Odetto, "La cronaca maggiore dell'ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma," *AFP* 10 (1940): 327–28; Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 81, 84–86, 88–91.

15. Peter of Verona, *Summa contra patarenos*, in Kaeppli, "Une somme," 324, 326–27, 329–31.

16. Kaeppli, "Une somme," 321.

17. Kaeppli, "Une somme," 331–33.

18. Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de catharis*, in Sanjek, "Raynerius Sacconi O.P., *Summa de catharis*," 57–58; Antoine Dondaine, ed., *Un traité neo-Manichéen du XIIIe siècle: Le Liber de duobus principiis* (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1939), 64–78. See also Borst, *Die Katharer*, 19–20; Dondaine, "Manuel," 93, 170–74; *BOP* 1: 144, 168, 238, 242–43, 254, 285, 300, 326–27, 398–99.

19. Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de catharis*, 42. Showing both this historical sensibility and his own treatise's supposed practical utility, Peter of Verona explained that "Fuerunt autem quam plures alie hereses simul exorte cum predictis . . . de quibus, quia iam temporibus nostris sunt penitus delete, non curavi cartam inutiliter occupare." Kaeppli, "Une somme," 335.

20. Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de catharis*, 43–47, 49.

21. *BOP* 1: 567; *SOP* 1: 79. Anselm of Alexandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, in Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, II," 234–324.

22. Anselm of Alexandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, 317–18, 320, 323–24. On the differences between these Italian sources and the Dominican depositions in Languedoc in their readings of "Cathars," see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 17–18; Sarah Hamilton, "The Virgin Mary in Cathar Thought," *JEH* 56 (2005): 24–49.

23. *Vitae fratrum*, 169–70; *De quatuor*, 33.

24. On the question of Moneta's sources, and specifically the relationship between *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses* and the earlier *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, see Walter L. Wakefield, "Notes on Some Antihetical Writings of the Thirteenth Century," *Franciscan Studies* 27 (1967): 285–321; Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, passim; Hamilton, "Virgin Mary in Cathar Thought," 37–38.

25. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 1–2.

26. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 389, 392, 395–96.

27. Cf. Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, 79.

28. See Biller on medieval Christian conceptions of plurality in "religions." Dominican inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon, for example, used *fides* for Christianity and *secta* for heresies and Islam. Peter Biller, "Words and the Medieval Notion of 'Religion,'" *JEH* 36 (1985): 364.

29. Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones adversus pestiferos foedissimosque Catharorum*, *PL* 195, cols. 11–98; see also Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy*, 88–94. See *PL* 215, cols. 273, 358–59; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, on Fontfroide and Pierre de Castelnau.

30. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. H. C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2, *MOPH* 16 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1935), 36.

31. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 40–42; *Vitae fratrum*, 221–22; *AS*, April III, 697; *De quatuor*, 14–18. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, in Marguerin de la Bigne, ed., *Maxima bibliotheca vetrum patrum* 25 (Lyon: Apud Anissonios, 1677), 556–57; cf. Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 52–58, 76–77.

32. Galvano Fiamma, "La cronaca maggiore," 322.

33. Galvano Fiamma, "La cronaca maggiore," 320–21.

34. *Cronica ordinis*, in *Vitae fratrum*, 322.

35. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, 430–31; Humbert of Romans,

Legenda s. Dominici, ed. Angelus Walz, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2, 384; Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 41; Pedro Ferrando, *Legenda*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2, 222.

36. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 40–42, 46; *Vitae fratrum*, 221–22.

37. *De quatuor*, 17–18.

38. *ACG* 2: 201–5.

39. André Vauchez, “Les origines de l’hérésie cathare en Languedoc, d’après un sermon de l’archevêque de Pise Federico Visconti († 1277),” in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità: Studi in onore di Cinzio Volante*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1994), 1024–25. Fantasies like this are unusual in inquisitorial texts; it is likely significant that Federico was not himself an inquisitor.

40. Nicola da Milano, *Collationes de beata virgine*, ed. M. Michèle Mulchahey (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 92–93. Nicola’s inspiration was obviously the liturgical response *Gaude, Maria virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti*, part of the feast of Annunciation. Although this text dated from the ninth century, interestingly, an expanded legend surrounding it dates from the thirteenth. Louis Brou, “Marie ‘destrutrice de toutes les hérésies’ et la belle légende du répons *Gaude Maria Virgo*,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 62 (1948): 321–53.

41. Humbert presumably had Italy in mind. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 556–57; cf. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 55–56, 76–77.

42. Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, in A. Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du *processus per inquisitionem* et de l’*inquisitio heretice pravitatis*,” *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 7 (1883): 671.

43. Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 671; Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 29r–v, 32r; Gui de Folques, *Consultatio*, Doat 36, fols. 205v, 210r.

44. *Doctrina*, cols. 1810–11.

45. Vat. Lat. 2648, fols. 48v–49r; Lorenzo Paolini, ed., *Il “De officio inquisitionis”: La procedura inquisitoriale a Bologna e a Ferrara nel Trecento* (Bologna: Editrice Universitaria Bolognina, 1976), 130.

46. Another witness testified that Atti was drunk and therefore not responsible for his words. *ASOB* 1: 103–9.

47. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 554. Inquisitorial sources indicate that some preachers indeed followed Humbert’s advice and used this biblical imagery in practice; see, for example, Doat 28, fol. 193v. Note that Humbert here discusses a single community of Christians, within which some are true and others false; references to the imposition of hands indicates that he was speaking of *boni homines*.

48. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 554–55.

49. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555.

50. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555.

51. Gui, *Practica*, 84.

52. “denique postquam fuerunt capti per gentes domini episcopi et condemnati

tanquam heretici credidit eos esse hereticos . . . antea predicari audiverat quod venire debebant aliquae personae quae viderentur esse oves et essent malae gentes et hereticae, et credidit quod de ipsis illud esset dictum.” Doat 28, fol. 193v.

53. Doat 34, fol. 83v.

54. *ASOB* 2: 588–89.

55. See most recently Arnold on the mapping of literate/illiterate along the orthodox/heresy divide. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 26–29, 74–90, 166–67.

56. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 93–140. Slain inquisitors as potential saints are treated in the following chapter.

57. While Ullmann credited this rarity of “highly dangerous” resistance to the fact that “inquisitors were so elusive . . . they had an almost perfect organization,” this assertion of their sophistication and skill is unpersuasive. Walter Ullmann, introduction to Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages: Its Organization and Operation* (New York: Citadel, 1963), 33.

58. “Récit des troubles d’Albi,” in Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 112–23; Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. P. A. Amargier (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1961), 49–50. Charles Delpoux, “L’inquisition à Narbonne,” *Cahiers d’études cathares* 2nd ser. 84 (1979): 29–37; Richard Wilder Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941); Jean Guiraud, *L’histoire de l’inquisition au moyen âge* (Paris: A. Picard, 1935–1938), 2: 65–73.

59. When Arnaud was seized and beaten by Guillaume de Puy, Guillaume shouted, “Get this preacher out of town!” (“Exeat predictor de civitate!”) “Récit des troubles d’Albi,” in Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 118. One of the four manuscript sources for this text reads instead “Exeatis proditor” (“Get out, you traitor!”), and this is the version Given translates in *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 129, following Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 227. While “proditor” is not only tantalizing but also extremely logical (and “is predictor” grammatically awkward), other instances of anti-inquisition violence indicate that the majority-reading *predicator* may be preferred to *proditor*, as this violence easily became anti-Dominican violence.

60. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 68; Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 49–50.

61. Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne*, 81.

62. On Jean Galand and the 1284 plot, see Jean-Marie Vidal, *Un inquisiteur jugé par ses ‘victimes’: Jean Galand et les carcassonnais (1285–1286)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1903); Michèle Lebois, “Le complot des Carcassonnais contre l’inquisition (1283–1285),” in *Carcassonne et sa région* (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc et du Roussillon, 1970), 159–63; Guiraud, *Histoire de l’inquisition*, 2: 303–33; Georgene Davis, ed., *The Inquisition at Albi: Text of the Register and Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 51–55; Alan Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle Against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 16–18.

Vidal was skeptical about the reality of this plot; Lebois and Friedlander argue for its existence.

63. The Latin text of the appeal is in Vidal, *Un inquisiteur*, 39–43. In interpreting these events, it is impossible to argue simultaneously that inquisitors were dishonest when protesting that they did not abuse their office by pursuing the innocent, and that townspeople were dishonest when protesting that they were pious Catholics.

64. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 103. Bernard Gui (as prior of Carcassonne) and Foulques de Saint-Georges (as prior of Albi) served as witnesses; Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 313–18. This transcript of Bernard Délicieux's trial in 1319 is a key source on the protracted uprising.

65. Davis, *Inquisition at Albi*, is the edited record of these trials (BN Lat. 11847). For background and narrative on the resistance, see Friedlander, "Introduction" to *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 1–52, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*, and "Bernard Délicieux, le 'marteau des inquisiteurs'," *Heresis* 34 (2001): 9–34; Jean-Louis Biget, "Autour de Bernard Délicieux: Franciscanisme et société en Languedoc entre 1295 et 1330," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 70 (1984): 75–93; Yves Dossat, "Les origines de la querelle entre Prêcheurs et Mineurs provençaux: Bernard Délicieux," in *Franciscains d'Oc*, CF 10 (Toulouse: Privat, 1975), 315–54; Michel de Dmitrewski, "Fr. Bernard Délicieux, O.F.M.: sa lutte contre l'inquisition de Carcassonne et d'Albi, son procès, 1297–1319," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 17 (1924): 183–218, 313–37, 457–88; 18 (1925): 3–32; Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition albigeoise (1300–1320)* (Paris: Hachette, 1877); Louis de Lacger, "Bernard de Castenet, évêque d'Albi (1276–1308)," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 4 (1954): 193–219.

66. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 196–97.

67. Geoffroy's defensive explanation to the citizens, issued on August 10, 1303, is contained in Doat 34, fols. 21r–24v. On this inquisitor, see Charles Peytavie, "L'inquisition de Carcassonne: Geoffroy d'Ablis (1303–1316), le Mal contre le mal," in *Les inquisiteurs: Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*, ed. Laurent Albaret (Toulouse: Privat, 2001), 89–99, and Annette Pales-Gobilliard, ed., *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les cathares du comté de Foix (1308–1309)* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984). The blanket inculpation as heretics was not just a matter of pride. It would mean that any persons found guilty of heresy in the future would be branded as relapsed, and thus liable for the death penalty. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 69, 245.

68. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'inquisition* 2: 575.

69. Lansing, *Power and Purity*, 151–57. The estimate of participation in the riot was made by Lorenzo Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna fra XIII e XIV secolo 1: L'eresia catara alla fine del duecento* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1975), 66.

70. *ASOB* 1: 51, 59, 167, 193, 289.

71. *ASOB* 1: 168, 229, 250 ("Bompetrus habebat quandam sororem et quia noluit consentire inquisitori ideo fecit eum comburi . . . inquisitor erat antichristus").

72. *ASOB* 1: 167–68; see also 1: 51, 59, 193, 289.

73. *ASOB* 1: 203; for other references to the Dominican community, see 1: 168, 182, 200–201, 207, 226, 228–29; 2: 329. When Friar Manfredino warned Atti da Reggio that he could be punished for heckling Guido of Vicenza's sermon, Atti warned him in turn that if they met outside, he would bash Manfredino's head against a wall. *ASOB* 1: 105.

74. Lansing, *Power and Purity*, 15.

75. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 78–79, 195; for parallels in other *exempla*, see Frederick C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969), 404.

76. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 195, 238, 288, 296. Friedlander refers to these references to evil grasses as “new, strange themes” in Bernard's preaching; they were neither new nor strange to inquisitors and those who heard their sermons. Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*, 127. Bernard Délicieux appears to have been quite aware of their inquisitorial use; during his trial he argued unpersuasively that “per ‘malas herbas’ intelligebat hereticos quos hortabatur si invenirentur exterminandos.” Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 195.

77. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 292.

78. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 72.

79. Louisa A. Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008); David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 208–36.

80. Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308–1323*, ed. Annette Pales-Gobilliard (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 1320, 1322, 1332, 1344, 1362, 1390, 1392, 1398, 1406.

81. Doat 34, fols. 24r–v.

CHAPTER 2. HOLY INQUISITORS

1. *Brevis chronica de vita et moribus ac scriptis et operibus domini episcopi Lodovensis*, in Léopold Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui*, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 27 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 429–30; see also Paul Amargier, “Elements pour un portrait de Bernard Gui,” in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, CF 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 19–37. Pierre also continued his uncle's *vita* of the Dominican Martin Donadieu: Bernard and Pierre Gui, *Vita sancti fratris Martini Carcassonnensis*, in “Vie de Frère Martin Donadieu de Carcassonne O.P. (1299),” ed. Thomas Kaeppli, *AFP* 26 (1956): 287–88.

2. On a saint's bodily *virtus*, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 427–39.

3. Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

4. Elliott interprets inquisitor saints more tactically as models explicitly offered by “orthodox authorities . . . to offset the specter of the heretical martyr.” Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 60–62, 180.

5. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 22–57; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 127–41.

6. On this charge against the mendicants, Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 94.

7. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 413–18.

8. Conrad of Marburg, inquisitor and confessor of Elisabeth of Hungary, was slain in 1233. However, there is no definitive evidence that Conrad was a Dominican; neither the order’s *Acta* nor histories before 1331 claim him as such. See Bathalsar Kaltner, *Konrad von Marburg und die Inquisition in Deutschland* (Prague: Tempsky, 1882); Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 89.

9. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 44, 50, 56, 70–74, 80, 90–94; Guillaume de Puy-laurens, *Chronique 1145–1275* = *Chronica magistri Guillelmi Podio Laurentii*, ed. Jean Duvernoy (Toulouse: Le Pérégrinateur Éditeur, 1996), 166–72; *Vitae fratrum*, 232–35; *De quatuor*, 22–24; Célestin Douais, ed., *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de l’inquisition dans le Languedoc* (Paris: Renouard, H. Laurens, 1900), 1: 144–47; Yves Dossat, “Le massacre d’Avignonet,” in *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, CF 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971), 343–59; Yves Dossat, *Les crises de l’inquisition toulousaine au XIII^e siècle (1233–1273)* (Bordeaux: Bière, 1959), 145–51; Guiraud, *Histoire de l’inquisition* 2: 103–24; Lea, *HistInq* 2: 34–39; Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 168–71.

10. Guillaume de Puylaurens reported a general belief that Franciscans were less fierce than Dominicans: “Adhuc quia Praedicatores magis ut rigidiores timebant, de Fratrum Minorum ordine collega additur, qui videretur rigorem mansuetudine temperare.” Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, 152.

11. Dossat, “Massacre,” 350, 353–54. Some of the killers, wearing the Dominicans’ scapulars, jokingly shouted to their accomplices that they should come hear a sermon by Guillaume Arnaud. Doat 22, fol. 258r.

12. *BOP* 1: 117. While it is no surprise that the *acta* of the general chapter in 1242, which took place in Bologna at Pentecost (June 8 in 1242), do not mention a killing that had happened less than two weeks earlier, no subsequent chapters general attempted to promote the dead men’s reputations through institutional means, as they would with Peter of Verona. (The 1242 chapter did instruct that “Fratres se exercean studiosius in hiis que sunt contra hereticos et ad fidei defensionem.”) *ACG* 1: 24. The lack of local cult and miracles bemoaned by Bernard Gui (see below) probably contributed.

13. 10 July, 1243. *BOP* 1: 118.

14. Dossat, “Massacre,” 356; Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 161–65.

15. Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, 112 H 6. After the order repeatedly petitioned for canonization, Guillaume Arnaud and his companions were added to the Roman calendar by Pius IX in 1866. William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York: J.F. Wagner, 1944), 363; Lea, *HistInq* 2: 36.

16. *BOP* 1: 192–93. Innocent IV’s bull *Tunc potissime* (September 27, 1251) delegated

to the Dominican provincial prior in Lombardy the responsibility of appointing inquisitors in Lombardy and Romagna. *BOP* 1: 199–200. On Peter's priorate in Como, *De quatuor*, 20; Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 97.

17. This claim mutated into the traditional image of Peter writing *Credo in Deum* on the ground in his own blood. Jacobus de Voragine, *Jacobi a Voragine legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, 3rd ed., ed. Th. Graesse (Breslau, 1890, repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 281; *AS*, April III, 706; Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 104.

18. *BOP* 1: 212; *Processus de nece Petri Martyris factus anno 1252*, in J. S. Villa, ed., "Processus per l'uccisione de S. Pietro Martire," *Archivio storico lombardo* 4 (1877): 790–94.

19. March 24, 1253. *BOP* 1: 216; 228–30. Although the bull was dated March 25, the canonization had formally taken place on March 9; Bonniwell, *Dominican Liturgy*, 90 n.

11. The canonization proceedings do not exist; Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 113.

20. William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1966), 2: 71–78; John Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-Forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr., and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 7–25; especially 14–18.

21. *Vitae fratrum*, 44–45; Dossat, *Les crises*, 173–205.

22. *ACG* 1: 76–77.

23. Humbert of Romans, *Epistolae encyclicae*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier (Rome, 1889, repr. Turin: Marietti, 1956), 2: 490–94.

24. The feast had been given the status of *totum duplex* in 1254, before the finalization of the order's liturgy. *ACG* 1: 71; 2: 321. Bonniwell, *Dominican Liturgy*, 29, 85, 90, 237–38.

25. *ACG* 1: 81; Marie Dominique Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France* (Rouen: Cagniard, 1898), 451.

26. *Vitae fratrum*, 3–4; *ACG* 1: 83. On Humbert's likely role in revising the *Vitae fratrum*, see Simon Tugwell, "Petrus Hispanus: Comments on Some Proposed Identifications," *Vivarium* 37 (1999), 109 n. 20.

27. Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 119–21. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 277–91; *AS*, April III, 686–72; *De quatuor*, 20–21, 114. The Dominicans themselves were dissatisfied with the *Legenda aurea* and long sought a better hagiographical compilation; master general Berengar of Landorre requested Bernard Gui to compose a substitute. See Bernard's preface to the *Speculum sanctorale*, in Delisle, *Notice*, 423–24; the *vita* of Bernard Gui specified that to Berengar "ordinatio fratris Jacobi de Voragine diminuta et in plerisque dubia videbatur." *Brevis chronica*, 428–29. Cf. Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Re-examination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 39–41.

28. *ACG* 1: 188 (1276); 1: 252 (1289); 2: 73 (1314).

29. *BOP* 1: 567; *ACG* 1: 198; *De quatuor*, 29–30. V. Folli, *Il beato Pagano da Lecco* (Lecco, 1932).

30. *De quatuor*, 24–25, 161. *Vitae fratrum*, 301–2 (without, however, mentioning an in-

quisitorial status); Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 416, n. 12. The hierarchy of *beati* and *sancti* developed in the fourteenth century. Among the Dominicans, the sole difference between the two was that only *sancti* enjoyed their own liturgical offices. The c.1352 pictorial cycle at the Dominican church of San Nicolò in Treviso, where *sancti* wore haloes and *beati* rays, is an early visualization of the two levels of sanctity. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 85–103, esp. 87, 95.

31. *Vitae fratrum*, 299–300; *De quatuor*, 160, refers the reader to this. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 109–12. On Bernard de Caux as inquisitor, see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*; Douais, *Documents* 1: 148–60; 2: 1–114; Yves Dossat, “Une figure d’inquisiteur: Bernard de Caux,” *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, 253–72; Yves Dossat, “L’inquisiteur Bernard de Caux et les Agenais,” *Annales du Midi* 63 (1951): 75–79.

32. Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 67; Lea, *HistInq* 2: 216; Michael Goodich, “The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints,” *CH* 44 (1975): 302–7.

33. Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 69–107. Elliott accepts Dondaine’s pious diminution of inquisitorial martyrdom in favor of traditional criteria, leading her to state on his evidence that “in fact, it was these aspects of his life alone that were emphasized by the clerics who preached on behalf of his sanctity, probably hoping to obscure Peter’s inquisitorial affiliation.” Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 61. Cf. Grado G. Merlo, “Pietro di Verona—S. Pietro Martire: Difficoltà e proposte per lo studio di un inquisitore beatificato,” in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni, e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani (L’Aquila: Japadre Editore, 1984), 473–88. Prudlo argues for the distinction that the earliest preachers on Peter’s sanctity emphasized other antihetical activity (preaching, disputing) and not specifically his inquisitorial role, which did not appear prominently as a theme until the end of the thirteenth century. Prudlo, *Martyred Inquisitor*, 100–102. Of course, as Prudlo’s title implies, Peter’s sanctity rested on a martyrdom inseparable from that role.

34. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 338; Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 68.

35. BN Lat. 3285a, fol. 247v. Cf. AS, April III, 699. Henry Charles Lea characteristically identified the asceticism as authentic but pathological, using it to explain Peter’s fervent inquisitorial activity: “morbid mental conditions . . . could readily render him a monomaniac on any subject which greatly engrossed his feelings.” Lea, *HistInq* 1: 239.

36. *Vitae fratrum*, 238; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 277; Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 84, 87–88.

37. *De quatuor*, 24.

38. *Brevis chronica*, 427.

39. *Vitae fratrum*, 300.

40. *Vitae fratrum*, 236–37. On the medieval and early modern *topos* of spiritually precocious children, see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 19–47.

41. *AS*, April III, 703.
42. Judges 15–16. Jacques de Lausanne, *Sermones sanctorales*, Toulouse MS 337, fol. 172r–173r.
43. Nicola da Milano, *Sermones sanctorales*, quoted in Meersseman, “La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIIIe siècle,” 145–46.
44. *Brevis chronica*, 428; *Vitae fratrum*, 300.
45. Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 74, n. 20; 83. *AS*, April III, 697.
46. *Vitae fratrum*, 231.
47. *De quatuor*, 20.
48. *Vitae fratrum*, 237, 236.
49. *De quatuor*, 24, 29; *BOP* 1: 567.
50. *Vitae fratrum*, 234; *De quatuor*, 22.
51. *De quatuor*, 24.
52. *De quatuor*, 20; *Vitae fratrum*, 237, 236.
53. *BOP* 1: 117; *De quatuor*, 21, 22, 24; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 277; *Vitae fratrum*, 232.
54. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 282.
55. Bernard Gui, *Speculum sanctorale*, Toulouse MS 450, fol. 36v.
56. *De quatuor*, 30.
57. Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de sanctis*, BN Lat. 3285A, fols. 246v–247v. Sherry Reames argues that just as the “pessimistic” Jacobus de Voragine emphasized Dominic’s conflicts with heretics, he also sought to position Ambrose of Milan as a prototype of Peter Martyr and other Dominican inquisitors in their fight against heresy. Reames, *The Legenda aurea*, 128–30.
58. *Vitae fratrum*, 232, 234; *De quatuor*, 24.
59. Luke Wadding, ed., *Annales Minorum*, vol. 5 (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi], 1931–), 299–300; Lea, *HistInq* 2: 216, 3: 39–40. Angelo Clareno, *Historia septem tribulationum ordinis minorum*, ed. Orietta Rossini (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1999), 247–50.
60. *Vitae fratrum*, 300; *Brevis chronica*, 429–31.
61. *Vitae fratrum*, 232–33.
62. *De quatuor*, 30.
63. *Vitae fratrum*, 234–35.
64. *Vitae fratrum*, 240–41.
65. *Vitae fratrum*, 233–34.
66. *Vitae fratrum*, 300.
67. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 279; *AS*, April III, 703; *Vitae fratrum*, 238.
68. *Vitae fratrum*, 237–38.
69. *AS*, April III, 701.
70. *Vitae fratrum*, 239. Cf. Dondaine, “Saint Pierre Martyr,” 117, n. 26. *BOP* 1: 254. Nazarius (d. c.1233) and Desiderius (d. c.1235) would be well known to Dominican inquisi-

tors; before the exhumation Desiderius had already appeared in Moneta of Cremona's *Ad-versus Catharos et Valdenses* (1241), 540. Both were also included in Anselm of Alexandria's *Tractatus de hereticis* (1260–1270); Anselm of Alexandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, 291–92, 310–12.

71. *Vitae fratrum*, 240.

72. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, III.

73. Delisle, *Notice*, 397; Toulouse MS 82, fol. 36r. The *lectiones* were excerpted from *Magnis et crebris*; cf. *BOP* 1: 229.

74. *Vitae fratrum*, 5; Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers," 15. Cf. the 1254 chapter general's prohibition against the publication of all writings by members of the order unless they had been first "diligently examined" by "skilled brothers" appointed by the master general or provincial prior. *ACG* 1: 69.

75. *Cum ad promerenda* (1254, reissued 1255), *Magna magnalia* (1254; reissued 1255), *Licet apostolica* (1255, to the Cistercians), *Vite perennis* (1257; reissued 1260), *Pro reverentia* (February 1257; reissued in June), et al. *BOP* 1: 244, 252, 283, 285, 271, 328–29, 339, 399. On papal encouragements for saints' cults, Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 119–123.

76. *BOP* 1: 329, 339, 403.

77. *AS*, April III, 715.

78. *De quatuor*, app.II, 188; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 122.

79. *Vitae fratrum*, 240.

80. Peter and Linda Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 385; Louis Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959) 3: 1106.

81. George G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 821.

82. The number of images of Peter Martyr increased sharply in the fifteenth century. See Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*, 818–34, George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 904–9, and *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of Northeast Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), 844–54; 1104–6; Mercedes Rochelle, *Post-Biblical Saints Art Index* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1994), 195–96.

83. *ACG* 2: 86, 100, 107, 114, 120, 129.

84. Stefano Orlandi, ed., *S. Pietro Martire da Verona Leggenda* (Florence: Il Rosario, 1952). For the translations of the *Legenda aurea*, see William Granger Ryan, introduction to *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* by Jacobus de Voragine (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1: xiv; *SOP* 2: 350–59. It is intriguing to consider the reception in southern France of the *Legenda aurea*'s life of Peter translated into Provençal: Jacobus de Voragine, *Die altokzitanische Version B der Legenda aurea*, ed. Monika Tausend (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1995), 132–38.

85. *ACG* 1: 198; *De quatuor*, 30.

86. Ryan, *Golden Legend*, 1: xvii–xviii; Paris, BN Lat. 5377, fol. 23r.

87. Meersseman, "La prédication dominicaine," 145–46.

88. E. Panella, "Note di Biografia Domenicana tra XIII e XIV Secolo," *AFP* 54 (1984): 260–61; Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 79.
89. BN Lat. 3285a, fols. 246v–249r; Toulouse MS 337, fols. 172r–174v.
90. *Vitae fratrum*, 248.
91. *Vitae fratrum*, 240–44.
92. *Vitae fratrum*, 203, 247–48.
93. AS, April III, 720; *Vitae fratrum*, 240–48.
94. AS, April III, 726.
95. *ACG* 1: 286.
96. *ACG* 2: 233, 240.
97. Fina's brother sponsored a chapel for Dominic in the same place. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 154.
98. AS, April III, 726.
99. Bernard Gui, *Flores chronicorum*, Toulouse MS 450, fol. 120r; *De quatuor*, 24.
100. Bernard and Pierre Gui, *Vita sancti fratris Martini Carcassonnensis*, 288.
101. Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 61, describes Martin as an inquisitor; there is no evidence of this in the *vita*.
102. *Vitae fratrum*, 240; AS, April III, 713.
103. Cf. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 415 n. 10.
104. *ASOB* 1: 234. See 1: 230–34 for witnesses testifying about Oddo's poor opinion generally of inquisition and of Dominicans; see 1: 256–57 for his own testimony, where he was specifically asked "Si locutus fuit male . . . specialiter de beato Petro martire, dicendo quod non erat sanctus nec esse poterat, et quod fratres fecerant eum sanctum per baratariam."
105. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 201–3.
106. Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 1230; cf. Doat 34, fols. 176r–v.
107. Gilles Meersseman, "Études sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines: II. Les Confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr," *AFP* 21 (1951): 52–70.
108. Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr," 66, 68. A more recent Dominican historian has offered another attempt to dispel shadows: "Plutôt que ce porter une condamnation rétrospective sur ce passé auquel nous ne pouvons rien changer, mieux vaut voir dans le sang versé par les martyrs un rappel qu'il ne fallait pas moins de courage pour prêcher le foi catholique en pays cathare que pour siéger au tribunal de l'inquisition." Bernard Montagnes, "Les inquisiteurs martyrs de la France méridionale," in Hoyer, *Praedicatores, inquisitores*, 537–38.
109. AS, April III, 713.

CHAPTER 3. THE BURNING TORCH

1. Cf. Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria: Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi fratri predicatori* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996), 221–66.

2. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 69.

3. *ACG* 1: 33, 76–77, 252; 2: 73. In three of these cases (1255, 1289, 1314), calls were simultaneously made for miracle reports of Peter Martyr; the appeal in 1314 produced the so-called Berenger collections. See Simon Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici mandato magistri Berengarii collecta: Petri Calo legendae sancti Dominici*, MOPH 26 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1997), 54–56, 61–100.

4. In 1242, the general chapter ordered that Dominic's deathbed confession that he had preferred the conversations of young women to the addresses of old ones (Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 69) be removed from Dominic's *legenda*. The chapter in 1259 commanded that in Dominic's *vita*, he, and no longer Diego of Osma, be credited with the foundation of Prouilhe. *ACG* 1: 24, 98. Tugwell observes that appeals for reports of new miracles by Dominic coincided with "crisis" moments in the order, but does not name inquisition as a contributor to those crises. Tugwell, *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 57–59. Cf. Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers," 19–20, on the order's lessons through historiography on fortitude when combating various kinds of external resistance, including heresy.

5. In the interests of space, I have omitted here the biographies of Dominic by friars Bartholomew of Trent (1244–1251), Jean de Mailly (d. c.1254–1260), Jacobus de Voragine (c.1230–1298), and Thierry d'Apolda (1288). The first three authors included comparatively brief, unoriginal biographies of Dominic within general compilations of saints' lives for use in preaching. We have already noted the order's dissatisfaction with the popular *Legenda aurea*. The German friar Thierry d'Apolda's life of Dominic, commissioned by master general Munio of Zamora circa 1285, largely collated his predecessors. These are available respectively in Bartholomew of Trent, *Legenda S. Dominici*, in Berthold Altaner, ed., *Der hl. Dominikus: Untersuchungen und Texte* (Breslau: G.P. Aderholz Buchhandlung, 1922), 229–39; Jean de Mailly, *Abrégé des gestes et miracles des saints*, ed. Antoine Dondaine (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947), 304–13; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*; and Thierry d'Apolda, *Libellus de vita et obitu et miraculis S. Dominici*, *AS*, August I, 558–628.

6. Jacques Berlioz has argued that Bernard Gui and his colleagues cannot be properly described as "historians" because history was not a scientific discipline in the Middle Ages; Jacques Berlioz, "Review of Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261–1331): Un historien et sa méthode*," *Heresis* 33 (2000): 129. Michel de Certeau distinguishes hagiography as a genre in which "acts . . . take on the character of signifiers in the service of a truth which draws their organizing ground plan," and geography and time are redefined "by the permanence of that which is the beginning, the end, and the foundation." Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 269. The distinction between "historiography" and "hagiography" in Dominican work is muted, partly from the content overlap between Dominic's *legendae* and chronicles of the early order, but also because the above description is equally applicable to Dominican histories in this period.

7. Cf. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 162–201; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

8. Angelus Walz, *Acta canonizationis s. Dominici*, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1935), 114–17, 188–94.

9. M.-H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, trans. Kathleen Pond (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 377–86; on the *alleluia* movement, see Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

10. André Vauchez, “Une campagne de pacification en Lombardie autour de 1233: L’action politique des ordres mendiants d’après la réforme des statuts communaux et les accords de paix,” *École française de Rome: Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 78 (1966): 517–19.

11. Vauchez, “Une campagne de pacification,” 523–28.

12. Parisio de Cerea, *Annales Veronenses*, 8, quoted in Vauchez, “Une campagne de pacification,” 527 n. 2. On John as inquisitor, see *BOP* 1: 174–75; Guiraud, *Histoire de l’inquisition*, 2: 565; Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, 207–8.

13. Gilles Meersseman, “Études sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines IV: Les milices de Jésus-Christ,” *AFP* 23 (1953): 293–303; Vauchez, “Une campagne de pacification,” 508–9; Meersseman, “Confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr,” 51–70. Thompson argues for the more tenuous relationship between antiheretical lay confraternities and the movement; Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, 216–18.

14. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 158; Vauchez, “Une campagne de pacification,” 515–16.

15. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 158–59.

16. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 154.

17. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 145; 132–33, 137, 141, 149–50, 162, 165–66.

18. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 177, 179, 180, 182–83, 186.

19. Dossat, *Les crises*, 118–24; “Récit des troubles d’Albi,” in Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 112.

20. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 192–93.

21. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 33–34, 38, 41–42. Cf. the ordeal that took place in León in 1077 to determine whether the Mozarabic or Roman liturgical rite should be followed. After both ritual books were cast into the fire and the Mozarabic book leapt out, King Alfonso VI kicked it back into the flames whence it had jumped. Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), 203. On fire-ordeal *exempla*, Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, 165. The miracle of the book was a popular subject for representation in Dominic’s iconography; George Kaftal, *Saint Dominic in Early Tuscan Painting* (Oxford: Blackfriars, 1948); Rochelle, *Post-Biblical Saints Art Index*, 81–83.

22. On questions of authorship, the identity of Pedro Ferrando, and of the “Petrus Hispanus” who composed the *Summulae logicales*, see Tugwell, “Petrus Hispanus,” 103–13, and Angel d’Ors, “Petrus Hispanus O.P., *Auctor Summularum* (III): ‘Petrus Alfonsi’ or ‘Petrus Ferrandi?’” *Vivarium* 41 (2003), 249–303.

23. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 28, 53.

24. Pedro Ferrando, *Legenda*, 216, 218, 222–23.

25. Pedro Ferrando, *Legenda*, 211, 225 (“Erant siquidem persone quedam nobiles in partibus Tolosanis, quarum sibi familiaritatem lupi rapaces heretici pellis ovine superducto velamine vendicabant”).
26. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 41; Vicaire, *St Dominic and His Times*, 146–47.
27. Pedro Ferrando, *Legenda*, 219–20, 222–23; 244.
28. On the sources for Pedro’s additions, see Tugwell, “Petrus Hispanus,” 106–7.
29. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda s. Dominici*, ed. H. C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1935), 286.
30. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 293.
31. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 296. The story of Shadrach, Mesach, and Abdenego also appeared, unsurprisingly, in early medieval rituals for the ordeal by boiling water and hot iron; see the ordeal liturgies in Henry Charles Lea, *The Ordeal* (1866; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), 186, 193. Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 21–22.
32. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 319–21.
33. Walz, *Acta canonizationis*, 186.
34. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 320–21.
35. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 321–22; cf. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1998), 228–35.
36. Cf. Tugwell’s defense in Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 170 n. 15.
37. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 319. On Constantine’s sources for his additions, see *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2, 275–80; Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 229. For inquisitorial depositions that mention Raymond Gros, Douais, *Documents* 2: 101, 105.
38. When Étienne de Bourbon later included the cat miracle in his well-known *exempla* collection, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (c.1260), he listed his source as both the written *legenda* and a personal communication from Romeu of Llivia, prior of the Dominican province of Provence. Romeu was the recipient of two important inquisitorial texts in the 1230s, the reissued *Ille humani generis* and Jean de Bernin’s consultation on procedure. Dominicans like Romeu circulating these stories in conversation may have themselves included new details. This miracle tale then also allows us to see how Dominicans involved in inquisition exchanged stories from Dominic’s past that could be interpreted as supporting that work. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 165–66.
39. “descenditque per funem appensum in medio mire magnitudinis murelegus niger . . . deosculantur quisque secundum quod ampliore fervet insania humilius . . . plurimi sub cauda, plerique pudenda.” Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers’ Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 120.
40. Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, PL 210, col. 366. While Berengaria had described

the cat's exceptionally long tail, she did not mention the "posteriorum turpitudinem" (Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 320). Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 40.

41. *BOP* 1: 52–54. Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 115. See also Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 48–50 (although the commonality of this imagery questions the singular significance of Conrad's agency in installing it in Gregory's mind); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 159–61.

42. Dossat, *Les crises*, 173–88. As we saw in the previous chapter, Innocent IV's canonization of Peter of Verona (1253) was soon followed by his withdrawal of support for Dominicans at the University of Paris in 1254.

43. *ACG* 1: 105.

44. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 371, 377, 379, 384.

45. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 409–10 (the rubric "Ab isto loco legi potest in mensa" appears on 385). Humbert did not include Raymond's name. Cf. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 229.

46. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 380–82. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1926–1939), 1: 47–49. Pierre claimed that Dominic himself was his source: "sicut ab ore religiosissimi viri audiui qui cedulam heretico tradidit superscriptam" (49).

47. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 380–82.

48. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 381.

49. Étienne de Bourbon's account of the Fanjeaux version mentioned that the judges "vacillated" in their decision of which faith was true. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 286–87. Bernard Gui, following the chronicler Guillaume de Puylaurens, later commented when introducing this miracle, "Heu pro dolor, quod status dignitatis ecclesiastice ad tantam devenisset deiectionem in illis partibus et diebus ut esset de fide sub laycorum iudicio disceptandum." Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 244; Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, 52. Humbert's version is also then an interesting gloss on Fraher's argument that the shift from ordeal to *inquisitio* was partly the victory of centralizing ecclesiastical authority over a conception of local authorities as a source of justice. Fraher, "IV Lateran's Revolution," 107.

50. Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 380.

51. See also Anne Reltgen-Tallon, "L'historiographie des Dominicains du Midi: Une mémoire originale?" in *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, CF 36 (Toulouse: Privat, 2001), 404–10.

52. On various vernacular translations of Dominic's *vitae*, see Warren Francis Manning, "Les vies médiévales de Saint Dominique en langue vulgaire," in *Saint Dominique en Languedoc*, CF 1 (Toulouse: Privat, 1966), 48–67.

53. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 58, 68. Pierre Seila had been appointed inquisitor with Pons de St Gilles by Jean de Bernin in 1234, and had donated to the order his house in Toulouse, which would later become the headquarters for Dominican inquisitors

there. *De quatuor*, 11; Dossat, *Les crises*, 122; M.-H. Vicaire, “La maison de Pierre Seila, à Toulouse, où l’ordre fut fondé,” in *Saint Dominique en Languedoc*, 159–66.

54. Duvernoy, “Chronique de frère Guillaume Pelhisson,” in Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 8–9. Walter L. Wakefield, “Inquisitors’ Assistants: Witnesses to Confessions in Manuscript 609,” *Heresis* 20 (1993): 63.

55. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 34, 36.

56. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 60–64.

57. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 92–96.

58. As Bernard Gui testified in *De fundatione*, 49–50.

59. Amargier, “Elements pour un portrait de Bernard Gui,” 20.

60. *De quatuor*, 16, 18; Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 46.

61. *De quatuor*, 7, 14.

62. *De quatuor*, 15. Cf. Psalm 58, in *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria*, 2 (Strasbourg, 1480/81, repr. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 524–26; Pseudo-Epiphanius, *De ortu et obitu prophetarum* 5, *Patrologia Graeca* 43, col. 395.

63. Pedro Ferrando, *Legenda*, 210–11; Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, 289; Humbert of Romans, *Legenda*, 371 (second lection in the feast of Dominic).

64. *De quatuor*, 15–16.

65. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria albigensis*, 1: 99–100; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, 146.

66. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 53; cf. 27–28.

67. *De quatuor*, 17–18. The account is unfinished; see 18, n. 8.

68. For an overview of Bernard’s historical work, see Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261–1331): Un historien et sa méthode* (Paris: Champion, 2000). For manuscripts, Delisle, *Notice*; *SOP* 1: 205–26.

69. Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 48.

70. Delisle, *Notice*, 187–88.

71. *A Middle French Translation of Bernard Gui’s Shorter Historical Works by Jean Golein*, ed. Thomas F. Coffey and Terrence J. McGovern (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1993); Delisle, *Notice*, 423–24; *Brevis chronica*, 428–29.

72. *De quatuor*, 44–48; Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 49 (“sicut in libro inquisitionis vidi plenius contineri”), 77 (“sicut inveni in libro inquisitionis Tholosanae”).

73. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 112; Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria albigensis*, 2: 153. Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, “La croisade albigeoise vue par Bernard Gui,” *Journal des Savants* (1993): 201–33.

74. Maurice Prin and M.-H. Vicaire, “Bernard Gui, Saint-Dominique à Muret et le crucifix criblé de flèches,” in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, CF 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 243–50; M.-H. Vicaire, “Les ‘Jacobins’ dans la vie de Toulouse aux XIII^e and XIV^e siècles,” *AFP* 57 (1987): 1–24.

75. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 110–13; Prin and Vicaire, “Saint-Dominique à Muret,” 249; M.-H. Vicaire, “Les clercs de la croisade,” in *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, CF 4 (Toulouse: Privat, 1969), 276–80.

76. Bernard Gui, *Speculum sanctorale*, in *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 272–73.

77. Delisle, *Notice*, 393; *BOP* 1: 22, 216; e.g., Doat 28, fols. 138r, 158v, 171r.

78. Delisle, *Notice*, 380–81.

79. Koudelka, *Monumenta diplomatica sancti Dominici*, 16–18, 52–53; Doat 31, fols. 11r–3v.

80. *Brevis chronica*, 429. Guenée, *Between Church and State*, 61; Agnès Dubreil-Arcin, “Un hagiographe à l’oeuvre: Bernard Gui et les légendes de Saint Saturnin de Toulouse,” *Annales du Midi* 226 (1999): 217–31; Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui*, 397–433.

81. To Augustine, certain things “vera non falsa dicuntur, quoniam vera, non falsa significantur seu verbo seu facto.” Augustine, *Contra mendacium*, quoted in Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 3 n. 8. Brian Tierney, “‘Only the Truth Has Authority’: The Problem of ‘Reception’ in the Decretists and in Johannes de Turrecremata,” in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 69–96.

82. E.g., Zaccaria di S. Agata in Bologna, 1303: “non credit hodie status dictorum fratrum esse in tanta perfectione bonitatis sicut erat tempore dictorum beatorum Dominici et Francisci.” *ASOB* 1: 390. See also Doat 27, fols. 70r–71r; Doat 28, fol. 246r.

83. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 134, n. 6.

84. Delisle, *Notice*, 382.

85. Gui, *Practica*, 233; cf. *De auctoritate*, Doat 36, fols. 25r–25v.

86. Dubreil-Arcin, “Un hagiographe à l’oeuvre,” 231.

87. Bernard Gui, *Scripta de sancto Dominico*, 136–37, 140–41.

88. Delisle, *Notice*, 421.

89. As Carlo Ginzburg has remarked about the Dominican Johannes Herolt’s fifteenth-century interpretation of the canon *Episcopi*, “he used it as a frame of reference, either suppressing or adding details on the basis of his personal experience.” Carlo Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,” in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 163.

90. Madrid, Prado. Repr. in Lionelli Puppi, *Torment in Art: Pain, Violence, and Martyrdom*, trans. Jeremy Scott (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 99.

91. *De quatuor*, 118.

CHAPTER 4. SOULS AND BODIES

1. Koudelka, *Monumenta diplomatica sancti Dominici*, 16–18.

2. Claude Carozzi, “Le ministère de la confession chez les Prêcheurs de la province de

Provence,” in *Les Mendians en pays d’Oc au XIIIe siècle*, CF 8 (Toulouse: Privat, 1973), 321–28.

3. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 47–51.

4. *Nos considerantes*, April 13, 1233, in *Texte zur Inquisition*, ed. Kurt Victor Selge (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1967), 47. These texts (Matthew 10:1–42, Luke 10:1–20) also appeared in the Franciscan *Regula non bullata*, composed by Francis of Assisi in 1221, a year before Gregory (then Ugolino, cardinal-bishop of Ostia) was appointed the Franciscans’ protector.

5. M.-H. Vicaire, “Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs,” *Annales du Midi* 79 (1967): 173–94, and “Notes sur la mentalité de saint Dominique,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 131–36; Christine Thouzellier, “L’inquisitio et saint Dominique,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 121–30, and “Réponse au R. P. Vicaire,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 137–38. Laurent Albaret describes the reconciliation of Pons Roger as “n’est en réalité qu’un acte résultant de son office de prédication” without specifying that Pons was to wear crosses and be flogged. Albaret, “Les Prêcheurs et l’inquisition,” 337.

6. Albaret, “Les Prêcheurs et l’inquisition,” 336. Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition,” 409–33; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 60–63. Jacques Paul, “La mentalité de l’inquisiteur chez Bernard Gui,” in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, CF 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 279–316, exceptionally agrees with Vicaire’s “intention pastorale.”

7. Élie Griffé, *Le Languedoc cathare et l’inquisition (1229–1329)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1980), 14–34; Annie Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition: Manuels de confesseurs et interrogatoires d’inquisition en Languedoc et en Catalogne (XIIIe–XIVe siècles),” in *La Piété populaire au moyen âge: Actes du 99e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Besançon, 1974: Philologie et histoire* 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1977), 333–52.

8. Cyrille Vogel, “Le pèlerinage pénitentiel,” *Revue des sciences religieuses* 38 (1964): 129, 135; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 78–84 (quotations 79, 82, 84); Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 63.

9. Raoul Manselli, “De la persuasio à la coercitio,” in *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, CF 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971): 175–97. See also John Hine Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), II–26.

10. Mundy, *Repression*, 67–68; M.-H. Vicaire, “L’action de l’enseignement et de la prédication des Mendians vis-à-vis des Cathares,” in *Effacement du catharisme (XIIIe–XIVe s.)?* CF 20 (Toulouse: Privat, 1985): 277–304. For the interesting interplay between the foundation of the University of Toulouse and the fight against heresy, see Yves Dossat, “Université et Inquisition à Toulouse: La Fondation du Collège Saint-Raimond (1250),” *Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims, 1970. Section de philologie et d’histoire jusqu’à 1610*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1975), 227–38; John Hine Mundy, “The Origins of the College of Saint-Raymond at the University of Toulouse,” in *Philosophy and Humanism*, ed. Edward Maloney (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 454–61.

11. As Baldwin described it, this initial canon “offered a greatly expanded statement

of Christian faith phrased in the most recent terminology fashioned in the French theological schools.” John Baldwin, “From the Ordeal to Confession: In Search of Lay Religion in Early Thirteenth Century France,” in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 1998), 200.

12. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 42–43. Duane Osheim, “Conversion, *Conversi*, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany,” *Speculum* 58 (1983): 368–90. For two examples—*conversi* and mendicant tertiaries—see Jacques Dubois, “The Laybrothers’ Life in the Twelfth Century: A Form of Lay Monasticism,” *Cistercian Studies* 7 (1972): 161–213; Conrad Greenia, “The Laybrother Vocation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Cistercian Studies* 16 (1981): 38–45; John Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 40–45, 216–25; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 1: 400–401.

13. Jo Ann McNamara, “Canossa and the Ungendering of the Public Man,” and Dyan Elliott, “The Priest’s Wife: Female Erasure and Gregorian Reform,” in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*, ed. Constance Hoffman Berman (New York: Routledge, 2005), 102–22, 123–55.

14. Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, passim (quotation 113).

15. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 221–23, 225–27, 229.

16. For a review of scholarship, see Peter Biller, “Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction,” in Biller and Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin*, esp. 10–13. On Peter the Chanter, see Baldwin, “From the Ordeal to Confession,” 200–205. See also M.-D. Chenu, *L’Éveil de la conscience dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1969);

17. Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, col. 339. Nicole Bériou, “Autour de Latran IV (1215): La naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion,” in *Pratiques de la confession: Des Pères du désert à Vatican II* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983), 74–80; Baldwin, “From the Ordeal to Confession,” 200–201.

18. Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Bériou, “Autour de Latran IV,” 73–93.

19. Biller, “Confession in the Middle Ages,” 12; see also Leonard E. Boyle, “The *Summa Confessorum* of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas and Some of his Contemporaries,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274–1974: Commemorative Studies* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 2: 245–68. For a classic sociological view of penance, see Thomas N. Tentler, “The *Summa* for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control” and “Response and Retractatio,” in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 103–26, 131–37, and *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977). Tentler’s interest in guilt was shared by Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990). See Leonard Boyle’s response to Tentler in “The *Summa* for Confessors as a Genre, and Its Re-

ligious Intent,” in Trinkaus and Oberman, *Pursuit of Holiness*, 126–30. Mansfield was more skeptical about “interiority,” judging it as less compatible with the persistence of public penance after 1215 and suggesting rather the beginnings of a “private life,” with the individual closely bound within a small, personal community. Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 290–91.

20. Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 98–99.

21. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 115–21, 125–67. See Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 92–93, 101, on the prominence of obedience in the piety and sanctity of the laywoman Elisabeth of Hungary; in inquisition this transcends the gender dynamics of male confessor and female penitent.

22. Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 34–51; Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII–XVI siècles)* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1962), 37.

23. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 37–38; Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition,” 337; Edward Peters, “Destruction of the Flesh—Salvation of the Spirit: The Paradoxes of Torture in Medieval Christian Society,” in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Burton Russell*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 141–42.

24. Quoted in John Van Engen, “From Practical Theology to Divine Law: The Work and Mind of Medieval Canonists,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Peter Landau and Joers Mueller (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 879 n. 16. Van Engen notes that several canonists after Gerard adopted this passage.

25. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 37 n. 1.

26. Van Engen, “Practical Theology,” 893–95.

27. Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 72.

28. On Fourth Lateran’s legislation on *inquisitio*, see Fraher, “IV Lateran’s Revolution.”

29. Paul Meyer, “Le débat d’Izarn et de Sicart de Figueiras,” *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l’histoire de France* 16 (1879): 254, 273. Biller, “Confession in the Middle Ages,” 9; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 53.

30. This is one reason why the attempt to revise R. I. Moore’s “persecuting society” quantitatively, marshaling examples of “tolerance” in medieval literature or legislation that are intended to counter instances of repression, is unhelpful. John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman, eds., *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). A stark picture of this debate is mounted in Cary J. Nederman, “Review of Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, eds., *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*,” *Speculum* 79 (2004): 1047–48.

31. BOP 1: 38; Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 305–15; *Doctrina*, 1795–1822; Dondaine, “Manuel,” 96–97, 108–11.

32. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes des casuistique*, 24–26, 43–48; Boyle, “The *Summa Confessorum* of John of Freiburg,” 2: 245–68.

33. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de iure canonico; summa de paenitentia; summa de matrimonio*, ed. Javier Ochoa Sanz and Luis Díez García (Rome: Commentarium pro religiosis, 1975–1978); Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 34–42; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 2: 248–52; Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition,” 335.

34. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 277.

35. This obviously related to Raymond’s familiarity with the use of cases in canon law; Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 39.

36. Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition,” 335.

37. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 37–40; Van Engen, “Practical Theology,” 882.

38. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 714–22.

39. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 723–24.

40. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 796; Nicole Bériou, “La confession dans les écrits théologiques et pastoraux du XIII^e siècle: Médication de l’âme ou démarche judiciaire?” in *L’aveu: Antiquité et moyen âge* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1986), 278–81.

41. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 803–4.

42. “Quis, quid, ubi, per quos, quoties, cur, quomodo, quando/Quilibet observet animae medicamina dando.” Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 827–28. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 68. We have already seen the popularity of “diligent inquisitor” in heresy inquisitions and in Dominican discipline; Humbert of Romans linked it to Deuteronomy 17:2–5. Humbert also used *inquisitio* to describe the pastoral process; Humbert of Romans, *Instructiones de officiis ordinis*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, 2: 361–64. Humbert advised the brothers in his general discussion on the office of confessor that “de fide non est tutum interrogationem facere . . . nisi in casu in quo illa persona suspecta esset de fide” (363). His specific concern here seems to have been a common one: the danger of suggesting new sins to persons who otherwise might not have thought of them. Nevertheless, he reminds us that before and after 1231, Dominicans who were not inquisitors could confront heresy as a pastoral problem.

43. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 831.

44. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 851.

45. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 835–39. On penitential pilgrimage in the Roman church, Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 49–51; U. Berlière, “Les pèlerinages judiciaires au moyen âge,” *Revue Bénédictine* 7 (1890): 520–26.

46. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 801–2.

47. Raymond’s discussion of how the church may punish those “qui foris sunt”—Jews and Muslims—well indicates the subtleties of “inside” and “outside.” He averred that “Non potest Ecclesia iudicare de his, ut infligat eis poenam spiritualem, vel imponat religionis regulas; sed poenas temporales potest eis infligere, et etiam spiritualem indirecte, removendo Christianos ab eorum communione.” But the church’s toleration in “permitting”

the “sin” of their continued “idolatry” was only for the purpose of encouraging future conversion, indeed suggesting transcendent universality. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 313. Bernard Gui’s *Practica* noted that inquisitors could not impose pilgrimage, crosses, or fasting on Jews supposedly persuading converts to return, but used “pena seu penitentia” to describe their imprisonment. Gui, *Practica*, 35, 36, 39–40.

48. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 323.

49. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 317–18, 330–31. Roach distinguishes Dominic’s “inclusive” model of penance applied to Pons Roger from Raymond’s “exclusive” one; it is not clear if this distinction takes into account *De paenitentia*’s chapter on heresy. Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition,” 412–13.

50. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 46. Thomas, *Die oudste constituties*, 335. Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 1: 47. See particularly chapters 5 (on obedience) and 7 (on humility) of the *Rule*; Benedict of Nursia, *La règle de Saint Benoît: Édition du 15e centenaire*, trans. Henri Rochais (Rochefort: Éditions la documentation Cistercienne, 1980), 30–32, 36–46.

51. Thomas, *Die oudste constituties*, dist.1, c. 13, 322–24.

52. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 159–65. Thomas, *Die oudste constituties*, dist. 1, c. 22 (*De gravi culpa*), 24 (*De fratre qui apostatauerit*), 334, 338.

53. Thomas, *Die oudste constituties*, dist. 1, c. 2, 315. Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 1: 353–54.

54. *ACG* 1: 100, 199, 266–67, 276. Bernard Gui, who knew Arnaud, praised him as “inventor carminum valde bonus”; Bernard Gui, *De fundatione*, 54, 112, 158.

55. *ACG* 2: 134.

56. *ACG* 1: 199; 2: 160–61. Albaret, “L’inquisiteur et ses archives,” in *Les inquisiteurs*, 24.

57. *ACG* 2: 137–38, 197.

58. Benedict of Nursia, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, 86, 88; Humbert of Romans, *Expositio in constitutiones*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, 2: 146–47.

59. Humbert of Romans, *Expositio in constitutiones*, 2: 145–48.

60. *ACG* 1: 17, 24, 139, 220, 230, 241, 246–47, 259, 311; 2: 36, 42–43, 159.

61. *Vitae fratrum*, 152–53, 169, 291–92.

62. *Vitae fratrum*, 153.

63. Jane Sayers, “Violence in the Medieval Cloister,” *JEH* 41 (1990): 533–42. Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe 1000–1300* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 145.

64. *ACG* 1: 10, 16. Although these instructions first appear in the *acta* in 1238, some earlier *acta* are lost.

65. *ACG* 1: 176, 280.

66. *ACG* 1: 315. Provincial chapters reinforced the general chapters’ insistence that all houses maintain prisons. According to the provincial chapter of Provence in 1314, held at Auvillar (at which Bernard Gui, then inquisitor of Toulouse, served as vicar of the

province): “conventus qui non habent carceres infra quadagesimam eosdem bonos et securos facere teneantur; qui vero non fecerint, priores absolvantur in penam in provinciali capitulo subsequenti.” Célestin Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1885), 132.

67. *ACG* 2: 127, 169.

68. Thomas, *Die oudste constituties*, 338. The order had added fasting to the Praemonstratensian original.

69. *ACG* 1: 239, 252; 2: 65–66, 147.

70. *ACG* 2: 135.

71. *BOP* 1: 45–46, 66–67, 80–81; *Vitae fratrum*, 292. On Robert, see Simon Tugwell, “The Downfall of Robert le Bougre, OP,” in Hoyer, *Praedicatores, inquisitores*, 753–56; Georges Despy, “Les débuts de l’Inquisition dans les anciens Pays-Bas au XIII^e siècle,” *Problèmes d’histoire du Christianisme* 10 (1980): 71–104; Charles Homer Haskins, “Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France,” in *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 193–244.

72. *Vitae fratrum*, 291–92.

73. Humbert of Romans, *Expositio in constitutiones*, 2: 38–39.

74. Meyer, “Le débat d’Izarn et de Sicart,” 257, 276.

75. This argument agrees with Arnold that *inquisitio* sought to encourage the interiorized shaping of the individual will, but emphasizes instead the limits of an interiority that, as inquisitors saw it, was always a visible “exterior” to God.

76. Doat 22, fols. 39r–40r.

77. Alexander Murray, “Counselling in Medieval Confession,” in Biller and Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin*, 74–75.

78. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, 2: 479.

79. See Murray on the similar confrontation in confession over lay doubts about priestly fitness, education, and insight. Murray, “Counselling in Medieval Confession,” 68–70.

80. Doat 28, fols. 135r–v.

81. The matter of discernment, simply distilled: “Item reputant, ut dicunt, se deum offendere si ipsi abjurarent illos articulos quod nos inquisitores aut prelati iudicamus esse erroneos aut errorem et heresim continere, quos ipsi e contrario dicunt non esse erroneos nec heresim continentes, set dicunt esse secundum evangelicam veritatem, dicentes bonum malum et malum bonum, et ponentes lucem tenebras et tenebras lucem.” Gui, *Practica*, 283.

82. “postea cogitabat in corde suo quod esset contrario vel illusio et opus diaboli.” Doat 27, fol. 28v.

83. “Expositio sibi per locumtenens inquisitorum quod ea quae a dicta sorore sua audivit sunt erronea et hereticalia et contra fidem et sanctam romanam ecclesiam et opus diaboli. Requisita, rogata, monita, et hortata quod predicta omnia, et specialiter quae dicta sunt contra sacramenta ecclesiastica et contra potestatem papalem, revocaret et abiureret et

quod dicta[m] sororem suam reputaret hereticam et heresiarcham et dictos condempnatos et combustos esse hereticos et ita se credere iuraret.” Doat 27, fols. 26r–29v.

84. Cf. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 62. Humbert of Romans on the office of confessor, *De officiis*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, 2: 360–69.

85. Gui, *Practica*, 236–37. See also BOP 1: 117; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 304.

86. Doat 25, fol. 231r; Lesley Smith, “William of Auvergne and Confession,” in Biller and Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin*, 95–96.

87. Meyer, “Le débat d’Izarn et de Sicart,” 248–49, 268.

88. Peters, *Torture*, 6, 50, 61. Kenneth Pennington, *The Prince and the Law, 1200–1600: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 43–44. Cf. Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 444.

89. PL 215, col. 1357. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 69. Peters, “Destruction of the Flesh,” 143–48.

90. *Doctrina*, 1795. Or, as Bernard Gui put it, “donec veritas habeatur”; Gui, *Practica*, 302. Cf. Doat 28, fol. 99r, where a sentencing council agreed that a suspect was not to be immediately sentenced, “sed ponendum in carcere ad custodiendum donec confessus fuerit plenius veritatem.”

91. Gui, *Practica*, 302.

92. “Tandem vero postquam in dicto carcere longo tempore perstitisset gratis et sponte absque monitione et requisitione dixit se penitere de predictis.” In 1328, together with other supporters of her sister, Alisseta abjured her heresy and was sentenced to perpetual prison at the same *sermo generalis* in which Na Prous herself was handed over to the secular arm to be burned. Doat 27, fols. 29v, 87r–89v; 91v–94v.

93. On contemporary ideologies of the will, Peters, “Destruction of the Flesh,” 138–39.

94. BOP 1: 210; Selge, *Texte zur Inquisition*, 77; Clementines: 5.3.1, CIC 2: 1181–83. For background, see Peters, *Torture*, 40–73; Mario Sbriccoli, “‘*Tormentum idest torquere mentem*’: Processo inquisitorio e interrogatorio per tortura nell’Italia comunale,” in *La parola all’accusato*, ed. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio, 1991), 17–32; Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 444–45.

95. For manuals, see Douais, *Documents* 1: 67; Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 25v; Gui, *Practica*, 174, 187–88; *De officio inquisitionis*, 13, 66, 23, 136. The most specific discussions of torture were in these two latest Dominican manuals from the 1320s, reflecting probably both the need to respond to Clement’s reforms, published formally in the Clementines in 1317, and the palpable hardening of inquisition by the end of this period. For rare references in transcripts: Bernard Gui, *Livre des Sentences*, 732, 1178; ASOB 2: 546, 600, 617–18; Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 94–95, 163; Grado G. Merlo, *Eretici e inquisitori nella società piemontese del trecento* (Turin: Claudiana, 1977), 176, 232. A less phlegmatic reference appears in Angelo Clareno, *Historia septem tribulationum*, 247–50.

96. This was Lea's explanation for the discrepancy between the paucity of the sources and his belief, based on the complaints made to the cardinals' inquiry in 1306 at Carcassonne after the anti-inquisition protests in southern France, that torture was frequent: Lea, *HistInq*, 1: 423–24. The claims of torture that surrounded the protests may have been true, but they are nevertheless fragile evidence that should not be used to reinterpret the silence of inquisitors' own sources, particularly because of the legal and spiritual legitimacy the Roman church constructed for torture. (Elliott follows Lea here; *Proving Woman*, 162 n. 167.) Célestin Douais noted that he had found only three references to torture's actual practice in Languedoc and Germany, two of which actually preceded *Ad extirpanda* and one of which was a complaint about Bishop Bernard de Castanet's severity in Albi. Douais, *Documents* 1: 238–42; cf. Dossat, *Les crises*, 211–15.

97. On torture's general frequency in secular courts, see Pennington, *Prince and the Law*, 157–60. Peters, *Torture*, 50. Cf. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 27–59, on the fictions of accessing truth in modern torture.

98. Gui, *Practica*, 219.

99. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte ou L'Abondance des exemples*, ed. and trans. Christine Boyer (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2003), 75.

100. E.g., Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, cols. 351–55. On the increasing significance of judgment in penitential literature, Bériou, "La confession dans les écrits théologiques et pastoraux," 261–82.

101. On humility and the laity, Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*.

102. Dondaine, "Manuel," 123 n. 18. Cf. Proverbs 3:11–12, quoted in Hebrews 12:5–6.

103. Meyer, "Le débat d'Izarn et de Sicart," 263, 282–83. On the strangeness of "baptism" here, 283 n. 1.

104. The phrase "de corde bono et fide non ficta," or "de corde bono" alone, appears in countless models and sentences throughout this period, including Doat 21, fol. 321v; Doat 28, fols. 68v, 72v; Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 674; Douais, *Documents* 2: 5, 9, 15, 18, 52, 68, 81, 87; Gui, *Practica*, 159. Cf. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 544.

105. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 839–40.

106. Meyer, "Le débat d'Izarn et de Sicart," 254, 273–74.

107. Gui, *Practica*, 93–94. This was indeed the liturgy for absolution from excommunication used in a *sermo generalis* under Jean Duprat and Bishop Jacques Fournier in Pamiers in 1324; Doat 28, fol. 67r.

108. According to Gui de Folques' much-circulated first *consultatio*, "quia tamen multi ex simplicitate in hoc crimine incidunt . . . credo etiam eos qui receperunt vel faverunt sanguine coniunctos mitius puniendos"; Doat 36, fol. 224v. Guillelmus Sacourt, for example, who condemned marriage as "private whoredom," was simply angry with his wife and upset that he had been scolded for striking her: Doat 28, fol. 200r. After a certain Phylisinus admitted in 1299 to charging, apparently when drunk, that inquisitor Guido of

Vicenza bought his office from Rome, Guido ordered him to stop drinking in taverns and to avoid bad company. *ASOB* 1: 261.

109. “Hec autem de penitentibus arbitrariis ita perstrinximus non ut vos omnes vel equaliter omnibus imponatis, sed ut eas secundum discretionem vobis traditam a domino, negotii utilitate, qualitate personarum, culparum quantitate, aliisque pensatis circumstantiis, ita caute ac provide dispenseretis ut sive plectendo sive ignoscendo vita culpabilium corrigatur, aut saltem apparere valeat quis in tenebris ambulet, quis in luce; quis vere sit penitens, quis fecte conversus.” Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 31r. This had earlier appeared in the Council of Narbonne (1243): Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, 1759–1798, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 23: 357. Arnold interprets “walking in light” as a desire to construct heretics as “objects of representation” as opposed to “subjects of penitential care”; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 57–63.

110. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 66–90; Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition”; Annette Pales-Gobilliard, “Pénalités inquisitoriales au XIV^e siècle,” in *Crises et réformes dans l’église de la réforme gregorienne à la préréforme. Actes du 115^e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon 1990: Église au moyen âge* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1991), 143–54.

111. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 23: 196; Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 37r; Gui, *Practica*, 42, 54, 89, 105, 155, 158–59. For examples in practice: Doat 27, fols. 93r, 135r, 145r, 149r. The requirement that Jews wear a wheel on their clothing had been prescribed by Fourth Lateran in 1215 and reiterated in southern France by the councils of Narbonne (1227), Arles (1234), and Béziers (1246). Interestingly, Raymond of Peñafort refers to this obligation in *Summa de paenitentia*, 311.

112. *Doctrina*, 1796, 1808–9; Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 26v, 30v–31r; *De officio inquisitionis*, 83; Doat 27, fol. 5r; Doat 28, fols. 187r–187v.

113. Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 323–24; *Doctrina*, 1803–4.

114. Doat 27, fol. 93r; Doat 28, fols. 53v, 82r. Baldwin, “From the Ordeal to Confession,” 204; Bériou, “La confession dans les écrits théologiques et pastoraux,” 265.

115. Gui, *Practica*, 98–99, 156–59; Doat 28, fols. 53v, 82r. The phrase *velamen oculorum* may have alluded to Genesis 20:16, where it is a public sign of “vindication.”

116. Roach, “Penance and the Making of Inquisition,” 418, 422–25, with simultaneously inclusive and exclusive characters. In the mid-thirteenth century, we see the imposition of crusade itself as a penance: Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 26v, 30v; Doat 21, fol. 176v. Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 93. On the distinct appearance of *conversi*, Osheim, “*Conversi* in Tuscany,” 376.

117. Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 324–25; *Doctrina*, 1803–4; Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 26v, 31r, 34r.

118. Gui, *Practica*, 162; Doat 28, fols. 245v–248r.

119. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 69–71, 79–83. In 1246 Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre imposed an extremely rare limited prison sentence on some heretics

in Toulouse; one was sentenced to fifteen years, and a few others to ten. Douais, *Documents* 2: 6–7. On the frequency of escape, see Walter L. Wakefield, “Friar Ferrier, Inquisition at Caunes, and Escapes from Prison at Carcassonne,” *Catholic Historical Review* 58 (1972): 220–37.

120. Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 317; *Doctrina*, 1798.

121. Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 674; Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 33v; Douais, *Documents* 2: 2, 7, 20, 30, 33, 47, 54, 68, 76 (“carceri deputati ad penitentiam pro heresi peragendam . . . sine licentia ecclesie carcerem exierunt in suarum perditionem animarum”), 80 (“carcerem exierunt in suarum periculum animarum”), 82–83, 85 (“contumax et inobediens in anime sue periculum”), 88, et al. Gui, *Practica*, 101.

122. Nicole Castan, “La préhistoire de la prison,” in *Histoire des galères, bagues et prisons XIIIe–XXe siècles*, ed. Jean-Guy Petit (Toulouse: Privat, 1991), 26–27; Edward Peters, “Prison Before the Prison: The Ancient and Medieval Worlds,” in *The Oxford History of the Prison*, ed. Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 26–32. Roach views prison as a turning point in inquisitorial punishments circa 1244; its monastic reflections are the key sign of an institutionalizing change from “friars administering penances as inquisitors and of the inquisition as a separate entity”; Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition,” 425–31, at 431.

123. Doat 28, fol. 198r. On the other hand, Guillaume de Salvella, *gardianus* of the Franciscan house in Béziers, sought in 1329 to exculpate fellow friar Peire Julian from the charge of relapse by citing his “just fear” of inquisitorial prisons: “in eorum ordine sunt carceres in quibus fratres eiusdem ordinis delinquentes puniri et poni solent et satis humaniter tractari, sed fratres predicti qui puniebantur per inquisitorem Massilie ordinis eorum gravius puniebantur quia gravius delinquerant, et ponebantur in gravioribus carceribus et minus humaniter tractabantur”; Doat 27, fols. 168r–v.

124. Douais, *Documents* 2: 31.

125. Doat 27, fol. 160v. According to *Omnis utriusque sexus*, indiscreet priests who violated the secrecy of confession were to be deprived of their clerical office and placed in a monastery to do perpetual penance. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 68.

126. “et panem pro cibo doloris et aquam pro potu tribulationis habeas, et recipias patienter ita quod vivere inibi sapiat tibi mortem, et mors quam ibi tuleris tibi vitam tribuat sempiternam.” Doat 27, fols. 121r, 154r–v.

127. Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 33r. Construction of chapels and monuments was a penance for towns reconciled after anti-inquisitorial protests in the early fourteenth century: Doat 34, fol. 170r; Douais, *Documents* 1: 97–98; Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 1230. Ariel Glucklich, *Sacred Pain: Hurting the Body for the Sake of the Soul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 168. On destruction of property, see Gui, *Practica*, 159–60, 208; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 192, 194. Lea, *HistInq* 1: 501–33. See also Roach, “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition,” 419–22.

128. Gui, *Practica*, 97.

129. Doat 21, fol. 167v; Doat 28, fol. 163r; Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 31r; Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 675–76; *Doctrina*, 1809–10; Gui, *Practica*, 38–39, 51, 55–56, 95. Vogel, “Le pèlerinage pénitentiel,” 113–53; Yves Dossat, “Types exceptionnels de pèlerins: L’hérétique, le voyageur déguisé, le professionnel,” *Le pèlerinage*, CF 15 (Toulouse: Privat, 1980), 207–25.

130. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 23: 200; Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 675; Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 38r; *Doctrina*, 1809 (sentence by Guillaume Bernard de Dax and Jean de St Benoît); Gui, *Practica*, 97, 99 (cf. the very similar wording in Doat 28, fol. 173r).

131. Doat 27, fols. 135v–136r (“nec a locis propriis nec a comunibus commerciis excludantur, ne per hec aut his similia retardetur conversio peccatorum”); see also fols. 107v, 149r. On false testimony: “et etiam commisisti gravissime contra deum et justitiam delinquendo falsum deferendo et testificando et fidei negotium calumpniando et innocentes in crimine heresis maliciose involvendo. . . . veritatem quoque quae sola in negotio fidei per nos quaeritur subvertistis sinceritatem que officii inquisitionis quod gerimus corrupistis.” Doat 28, fols. 49v–53v, 76v–82v.

132. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 851–52; Murray, “Counselling in Medieval Confession,” 75–76. On the later medieval trend toward leniency in the imposition of penance for this reason, Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 332–39.

133. Gui, *Practica*, 42, 54–56, 60–61, 89, 103–8.

134. Doat 27, fols. 121r, 138r, 155r–v, 160v; Doat 28, fol. 7r.

135. Given sees “a skillful use of social isolation, along with systematic stigmatization and marginalization. . . . they had not been reshaped and reintegrated into the ‘normal’ community. Instead they had, along with lepers and Jews, been inserted into a clearly delineated out-group.” Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 218, 220. Moore’s influence here is obvious. Cf. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 66–71.

136. This argument agrees with Arnold on the significance of inquisitors’ attention to less committed laity, and of the new demand for interiority in confession. It differs in locating these developments within contemporary currents in Christian discourse, in which the individual soul possessed a discrete theological valence (a different kind of extant “subjectivity”), rather than as part of inquisition’s Foucauldian construction of a subjectivity generally unrelated to other dynamics of medieval Christianity. Cf. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 76, 101, 110, 227. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 731–32.

137. A. Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale au XIV^e siècle,” *Memoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 4 (1857): 309–44. On Menet’s bad reputation, see Jean-Marie Vidal, “Menet de Robécourt, commissaire de l’inquisition de Carcassonne (1320–1340),” *Le Moyen Âge* 16 (1903): 425–49.

138. Nicolau Eymeric and Francisco Peña, *Le manuel des inquisiteurs*, trans. Louis Sala-Molins (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001), 149.

139. Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 266–67.

140. On Augustine’s view of the coercion implicit in humans’ relation to God, and

the coercive quality of grace, see Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St Augustine* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 260–78. The *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* applied to ecclesiastical policy toward heretics both Augustine's citation of *compellere intrare* (Luke 14:21–23) and his example of Paul's own compelled conversion, used to defend the coercion of the Donatists. Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, 60–63.

141. Individuation, interiority, and discipline applied to all sinful Christians, not just those touched by heresy. Cf. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 46, 70, 72, 113–15. To Elliott, “It is difficult not to pronounce against a religious culture that made this kind of [bodily] suffering one of the tacit conditions for celebrating the spiritual achievement of women.” *Proving Woman*, 298. As with obedience, we should interrogate the meaning of a religious culture that linked suffering to the spiritual achievement of all Christians, including Dominicans.

142. “Quamquam enim extrinsecus humanis oculis incultus fuerit, intrinsecus in oculis dei, qui sole lucidiores existunt, ornatus fuit.” Bernard Gui, *Vita sancti fratris Martini Carcassonnensis*, 279. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 23:28: “Et non cognovit quoniam oculi domini multo plus lucidiores super solem circumspicientes omnes vias hominum et profundum abyssi et hominum corda intuentes in absconsas partes.”

143. Benedict of Nursia, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, 38.

144. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 218–19.

CHAPTER 5. THE DESERVED PUNISHMENT

1. Gui, *Practica*, 217–18; cf. *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis*, Doat 36, fol. 17r.

2. *Doctrina*, 1807. Cf. Proverbs 26:11.

3. Lea, *HistInq* 1: 541–49.

4. “cum ecclesia non habeat quid ultra faciat de talibus, idcirco te tanquam talem relinquimus curie seculari.” Doat 28, fol. 160v.

5. Charles Moeller, “Les bûchers et les auto-da-fé de l'inquisition depuis le moyen âge,” *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 14 (1913): 722–26; Henri Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'Inquisition* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1960), 243–57; Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy*, 16–17. Julien Havet, “L'hérésie et le bras séculier au moyen âge jusqu'au treizième siècle,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 41 (1880): 488–517. Lea, *HistInq* 1:221, 2:183–84; O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 498–99.

6. Moeller, “Les bûchers.”

7. X: 5.7.10, *CIC* 2: 782–83.

8. X: 5.7.15, *CIC* 2: 789. “Ultio debita est ignis crematio sicut probatur ex verbis domini dicentis Ioan. xv.” Hostiensis, *In quintum decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581; repr. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1965), 36.

9. For the 1310 *sermo*, Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 334–537; Given, *Inquisition and*

Medieval Society, 67–71. Cf. Pales-Gobilliard, “Pénalités,” 146; Yves Dossat, “Le ‘bûcher de Montségur’ et les bûchers de l’inquisition,” in *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, CF 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971), 370–71; Douais, *Documents* 1: 205.

10. Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 322–23; Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 675–77; Vat. Lat. 3978, fols. 34v–35r; *Doctrina*, 1795–96; Doat 36, fols. 10r, 17r, 19r; *De officio inquisitionis*, 43–44, 46, 66–69, 87–90, 143.

11. Evidence also suggests that Dominican inquisitors’ brethren in the order shared their equanimity amid executions. Records demonstrate that friars participated in the *concilium bonorum virorum* that helped to determine sentences and attended burnings; moreover, the three most visible Dominican opponents to their order’s involvement in inquisitions, Jean Martin, Bernard Blanc, and François Aymeric, did not include the death penalty among their complaints. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 159, 162–65; Douais, *Documents* 2: 304–13.

12. Gui, *Practica*, 330, 258; on Dominican inquisitors’ role in gathering the army against Dolcino, 342.

13. “tandemque curiam affectuose rogantes prout suadent canonicae sanctiones ut tibi vitam et membra citra mortis periculum conservet.” Sentence of the relaxed Guillelma Torniera by Jean Duprat, Doat 28, fol. 160v. Gui, *Practica*, 131, 136, 143–44, 149. Cf. *ASOB* 1: 16.

14. Protestors against inquisition in southern France circa 1300 credited burning to inquisitors directly; e.g., “ab inquisitoribus comburetur”; “Non restat nisi quod inquisitores comburant nos et quod rex nos suspendat.” Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 147, 269.

15. Jean-Louis Biget, “Un procès d’inquisition à Albi en 1300,” in *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, CF 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971): 288. The argument of *mentalité* and socio-cultural context was specifically applied to the Dominicans in Jean-Louis Bruguès, “L’inquisition et les Frères Prêcheurs,” *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de l’ordre de Saint-Dominique en France* 9 (1973), 27. Lea, *HistInq* 1: 234.

16. Walter Ullmann, “The Significance of Innocent III’s Decretal *Vergentis*,” in *Études d’histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris: Sirey, 1965), 1: 732.

17. García y García, *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, 66; Maisonneuve, *Études*, 267–68.

18. Anselm of Alexandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, 320; Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de catharis*, 60. See also Peter Biller, “Medieval Waldensian Abhorrence of Killing pre-1400,” in *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 129–46.

19. “deus non voluit justitiam quod aliquis iudicaretur ad mortem . . . consuluerat Guillelmo de Roaxio dum esset consul quod nullo modo consentiret in iudicando in mortem alterius. si officialis iudicaret aliquem hereticum et ille occideretur tanquam hereticus quod officialis erat homicida.” Peire extended these condemnations to those preaching crusade. Doat 22, fols. 94v, 98r, 101r; Douais, *Documents* 2: 94, 99–100, 113. Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 52–56.

20. Interrogation of Bonigrino (who was himself eventually executed) by Guido of Vicenza in Bologna; *ASOB* 1: 15–16.

21. “ecclesia romana et ipse inquisitor non credebatur nec tenebat illam fidem.” *ASOB* 1: 16.

22. Moore, *Formation*, 22–25, and *Birth of Popular Heresy*, passim; Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 254–55; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 86, 90, 106–8, 109–34. The late antique paradigm was Augustine’s elaborate justification of the coercion of the Donatists: Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St Augustine*, 260–78, 301–31; R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 133–53.

23. Maisonneuve, *Études*, 267–68; Malcolm Barber, “The Albigensian Crusades: Wars Like Any Other?” in *Dei gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, B. Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 45–55. On the Cistercians and the crusade, Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, especially 135–73.

24. Optatus of Milevis, *Traité contre les donatistes*, ed. and trans. Mireille Labrousse (Paris: Cerf, 1995–1996); Elphège Vacandard, *Inquisition: A Critical and Historical Study of the Coercive Power of the Church*, trans. Bertrand Conway (New York: Longmans, Green, 1907), 11–23. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 115, 205.

25. For Innocent III, see *Vergentis in senium*: X: 5.7.10, *CIC* 2: 782–83; *Si adversus nos*: X: 5.7.11, *CIC* 2: 783–84; *PL* 215, cols. 273–74, 358–59, 1024–25. For Gregory IX, see *Vox in Rama*: BOP 1: 53; *Declinante*: BOP 1: 38; *Olim intellecto*: BOP 1: 66–67.

26. Beryl Smalley argued for a palpably greater interest in the interrelationship of scriptural exposition and “everyday life.” Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 264–355, especially 281–92 (quotation 284–85, 308). Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 2: 99–115.

27. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 556.

28. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 556.

29. Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 556–57.

30. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 392.

31. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 511, 515–18, 522, 525.

32. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 526.

33. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 516, 530–31, 539, 545.

34. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 518, 522.

35. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 524, 535.

36. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 509, 516–18, 530, 545.

37. This is a good example of, in Lee Patterson’s neat phrase, the “preemptive hermeneutic of medieval exegesis.” Lee Patterson, “Chaucer’s Pardoner on the Couch: Psyche and Clio in Medieval Literary Studies,” *Speculum* 76 (2001): 653 n. 5.

38. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 534, 537–39.

39. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 541; Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, 59–60.

40. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 510–II, 523, 527.
41. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 514.
42. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 516.
43. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 516, 542. Cf. Proverbs 3:12.
44. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 132–33; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 86; Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 326. The Revised Standard Version of the English Bible translates the Greek phrase as “a man who is factious.”
45. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, secunda secundae, q.XI, art.3, in Selge, *Texte zur Inquisition*, 85–86; Maisonneuve, *Études*, 361–66.
46. *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis*, Doat 36, fol. 19r; Gui, *Practica*, 219.
47. “Herodes, scilicet diabolus, procuravit mortem istorum beguinorum et leprosum combustorum.” Doat 27, fol. 58r. See also Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 1336.
48. Gui, *Practica*, 134; cf. Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 34v, Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 315, 319.
49. E.g., Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria albigensis*, I: 163–65.
50. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne: Heberle, 1851) 2: 175–76; see also I: 296–309. A version of such punishment appears in Odo of Cheriton’s (d.1247) *exemplum* about a heretic preaching in Toulouse, who denied that God was the creator of flies. A fly stung him and he was driven insane. J. A. Herbert, *A Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1883) 3: 44, 631.
51. Schmitt, *Holy Greyhound*.
52. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 274, 312–14.
53. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 196, 325–28, 415.
54. Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 26r. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 198–99; ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 165–66.
55. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 163. For the brief *exemplum* in which an Albigensian crusader who had finished his obligation and wanted to go home, although “terra remaneret in periculo,” re-enlisted and hence freed his father from purgatory, see 176–77.
56. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 149–50, 286.
57. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 283; cf. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed. Raymond Van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 13.
58. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 114–15.
59. On the reflection in figurative art of the blurred lines between “martyr” and “executed” caused by ambiguous readings of public executions, Puppi, *Torment in Art*, especially 42–59; cf. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 47–69. For arguments that late medieval and early modern secular executions were productive theater that sought to instruct and impress, see Esther Cohen, “‘To Die a Criminal for the Public Good’: The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris,” in *Law, Custom, and Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, ed. Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1990), 285–304.

60. Jean Gobi, *Scala coeli*, 13–53. See also Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, “Recueils d’*exempla* méridionaux et culte des âmes du Purgatoire,” in *La papauté d’Avignon et le Languedoc* (1316–1342), CF 26 (Toulouse: Privat, 1991), 257–78 and *Éducation, prédication et cultures au moyen âge: Essais sur Jean Gobi le jeune* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1999).

61. Jean Gobi, *Scala coeli*, 409.

62. Jean Gobi, *Scala coeli*, 408. The source is Dominican Thomas de Cantimpré’s *Bonum universale de apibus* II.57, 68, cited in Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 68.

63. Jean Gobi, *Scala coeli*, 319–20.

64. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* 3: 448, 470, 599, 611, 644, 671, 679.

65. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria albigensis*, I: 117–18.

66. As Elliott observes, neither Thomas Aquinas nor any other cleric seems to have considered the possibility that someone executed as a heretic and “formally consigned to hell” was instead “destined for heaven.” Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 142. This harmonizes well with the complete alignment between execution and damnation visible in other Dominican texts.

67. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 75–78.

68. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 528.

69. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 256–78; 310–18. On the earlier role of arguments against heretics in formulating the doctrine of purgatory, 168–73. On purgatory and later *exempla* collections, see Polo de Beaulieu, “Recueils d’*exempla* méridionaux,” 257–78.

70. Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 311.

71. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 3.

72. “Vermis, hyemps, ignis, fetor sunt danda malignis/Vincula, flagella, sitis, tenebre, timor et mala litis/Carcer, tortores, fletus, pudor atque dolores.” ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 90.

73. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 66–139.

74. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 140–92; Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 312.

75. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (2002), 47, 50–51; Hell was proved partly by the scriptural account of Dathan, Abiron, and Korah, 66.

76. ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 311.

77. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 58, 60.

78. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 56, 67, 75–76.

79. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 87.

80. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 91–92.

81. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 93, 95.

82. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 83, and *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555.

83. Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 320; *Doctrina*, 1801.

84. Meyer, “Le débat d’Izarn et de Sicart,” 254, 273.

85. Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 34v; see also Doat 27, fols. 97v, 134v.

86. Gui, *Practica*, 351. Of course, as that eternal fire resulted from the heretic’s re-

fusal to rejoin ecclesiastical unity, his execution was not necessary for condemnation to it. Bernard Gui's sentence in 1309 for an impenitent Cathar who after his arrest had reportedly begun the *endura*—the renunciation of all food and water—noted that the heretic's suicide was “ad cumulum dampnationis sue tanquam perditionis filius et gehenne mortalem corporalem sibi accelerans et properans ad eternam.” Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 328.

87. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 108.

88. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 207. Cf. Guillaume de Puylauren, *Chronica*, 176, the heretics of Montségur who “igne immisso, combusti ad ignem Tartareum transierunt.” For other non-Dominican examples, Haskins, “Robert le Bougre,” 237 n. 4.

89. Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 34v.

90. Gui, *Practica*, 218; *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis*, Doat 36, fol. 19r. Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exemplum* of the fearful heretic included in Dominican Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum narrationum*. An *Alphabet of Tales: An English Fifteenth-Century Translation of the Alphabetum narrationum of Étienne de Besançon*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1904–1905), 242.

91. Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 196, 198.

92. Doat 27, fols. 95r–95v.

93. Doat 23, fols. 58r, 95r; Doat 36, fol. 220v; ÉdB, *Tractatus* (1877), 294; *De officio inquisitionis*, 84, 144; Gui, *Practica*, 144, 183, 338.

94. Gui, *Practica*, 219; Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 198, 200. A gruesome example of the extent of this principle is given by the Lombard inquisitor Lanfranc. He listed in his account book the expense of treating the suffering of a Waldensian heretic who wished to repent after his burning had begun, and was thus “tractus de igne semi combustus.” Gerolamo Biscaro, “Inquisitori ed eretici lombardi,” *Miscellanea di storia Italiana* 50 (1922): 513.

95. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 69.

96. E.g., Doat 23, fols. 49v, 308v; Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 672; Council of Béziers, in Vat. Lat. 3978, fol. 29v; *Doctrina*, 1795; *De officio inquisitionis*, 134.

97. Gui, *Practica*, 120–26; cf. *De officio inquisitionis*, 69–71; Gui de Folques's first *consultatio* (1255) opined that purgatory was the lot of those who had been absolved by inquisitors but died before they had completed their penance: Doat 36, fol. 212v. As Le Goff and Mansfield have described, from about the 1170s purgatory was understood as the locus for suffering the temporal *poenae* for sin unsatisfied in the world, even if sincere contrition had erased the need for eternal *poena*. Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 48–49; Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 154–76, 213–25. Exhumation of the dead presumes their uncontritely dying in heresy without absolution.

98. Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 677; Raymond of Peñafort, “Directoire,” 321; *Doctrina*, 1802.

99. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 42–44. Roland of Cremona's commentary on Job was directed principally against heresy; see Antoine Dondaine, "Un commentaire scripturaire de Roland de Crémone 'Le livre de Job,'" *AFP* 11 (1941): 109–37.

100. However, specifically inquisitorial disturbance may have been the scandal: Pelhisson reported that when Pierre Seila and Guillaume Arnaud posthumously condemned one Himbert de Castelnau in Cahors, "filius suus furatus fuit eum de cimiterio, et non fuit inventus." Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 56.

101. "Récit des troubles d'Albi," in Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 27–28, 112–22.

102. Lea, *HistInq* 1: 504, 522; Kenneth Pennington, "'Pro Peccatis Patrum Puniri': A Moral and Legal Problem of the Inquisition," *CH* 47 (1978): 137–54; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 42–43. See the warning to inquisitors about confiscations in Clement V's *Nolentes* (1312); Clementines: V.3.2, CIC 2: 1182–83. Davis, *Inquisition at Albi*, 88–90; Guiraud, *Histoire de l'inquisition* 2: 361–62; *ASOB* 1: 50–51, 54, 58–59, 167, 168, 170, et al. The order was itself sensitive to the charge that inquisitors were too implicated with money; see Chapter 4.

103. Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 314–16.

104. Doat 27, fols. 132v–133r.

105. Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 57–58. Cf. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 261.

106. "cum istud crimen tam detestabile tam nephandum propter sui immanitatem et enormitatem non solum in vivos sed etiam in mortuos . . . vindicetur." Doat 28, fols. 165r–v; cf. fols. 167v–168r, 169r.

107. Raymond of Peñafor, "Directoire," 321; *Doctrina*, 1801. E.g., Doat 28, fol. 169r, Doat 27, fol. 133r.

108. Cf. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 75; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 58.

109. Bernard de Caux and Jean de St Pierre, *Processus inquisitionis*, 678.

110. Gui, *Practica*, 129–31; see also Bernard Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 540–42. Versions of the hope that "our judgment may go forth from the face of God" were common in inquisitorial sentences; e.g., when Henri de Chamayo handed over Na Prous Boneta, Doat 27, fol. 96v.

111. Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, 46.

112. Benjamin Rush, *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and upon Society* . . . (Philadelphia: Joseph James, 1787), 18.

113. Vacandard, *Inquisition*, 17.

CONCLUSION

1. Euan Cameron, "Review of Richard Rex, *The Lollards*," *Speculum* 79 (2004): 1131.

2. Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *AHR* 102 (1997): 3–4.

3. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth*, 186–97, 191.

4. As David Nirenberg argues about the historiography of religious minorities in medieval Europe, structuralist approaches can posit first dynamism, then stasis: stereotypes and sentiment arose in a particular moment but ultimately hardened into a single form, henceforth unchangeable and transhistorical. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 5–6.

5. See Robert Orsi on the “pressure” upon scholars of religion “to define a normative ‘Islam’ in contradistinction to whatever it was that motivated” acts of terrorism. To Orsi, this effort, despite its laudable motives, echoes colonialist disparagements of, and distancing from, irrational faiths that nonconform to the lineaments of modern Western religion. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth*, 6–7.

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In a perhaps unusual way, this book is beholden to my first teacher of medieval history, David Herlihy. In his final semester of teaching before his death, I was an utterly anonymous undergraduate enrolled in his survey of the Middle Ages. During one class meeting, Professor Herlihy interrupted his

lecture to encourage us to discover and to pursue whatever would infuse our lives with joy and meaning. The students knew that he was seriously ill, and his words then were extremely powerful, even for someone who had no idea that her pursuit would ever encompass the study of medieval history. This book is only one of the ways in which I have since striven to follow David Herlihy's advice. My husband, Alexander Ames, is another.